

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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CHARLES A. LINDBERGH AND HIS MOTHER

(The young air-mail pilot who won the admiration of the whole world by his flight from New York to Paris is here seen near the tomb of the Unknown Soldier, at Arlington National Cemetery, on the day after he was welcomed home by President Coolidge. Mrs. Lindbergh teaches chemistry in a Detroit high school. She is a graduate of the University of Michigan, and has attended special courses at Columbia University during the past five summers, specializing in laboratory management, obtaining her master's degree last year)

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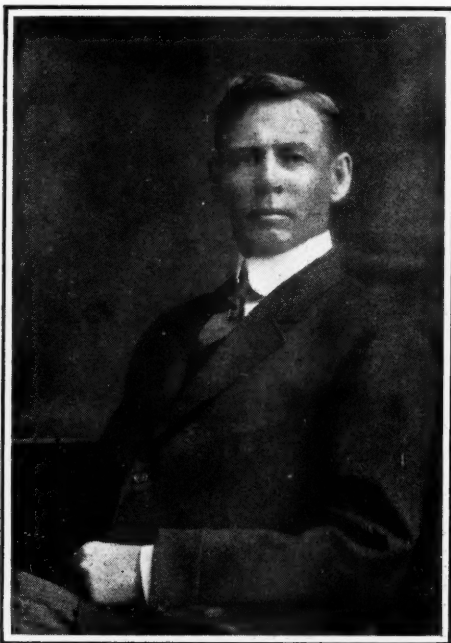
THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Lindbergh—
in the Hearts of
His Countrymen* The reception in America of Charles A. Lindbergh was a spontaneous outburst of nationwide approval and good-will. What everybody was saying and feeling in small circles and in country neighborhoods was precisely what everybody at the same time was saying in large groups and in great centers of population. We have commented more than once in this periodical upon the vast change that has come about in our American life through the almost instantaneous spread of intelligence, and through the increase of leisure that gives people time to be concerned about other things besides work and rest, food and drink, poverty and illness, and like matters of a strictly personal and immediate quality. When Lindbergh came to New York on Monday, June 13, flying from Washington in two hours, he found the whole city waiting to greet him in the most enthusiastic holiday mood that the oldest inhabitant could remember. Armistice Day was more intense in its emotions; for the war strain had been so great—with more than two million American boys on the war-fronts in Europe, and other millions prepared to go if the war had continued, while so many had been killed and so many more had died of influenza and pneumonia—that the Armistice Day sentiment was one of profound relief and thanksgiving. However, the anxieties and strains of the war had been too heavy for a complete unburdening in the magnificent rebound of the Peace news.

*A Case of
Hero
Worship* The Lindbergh celebration in New York was indeed similar in some respects to the uproar and outpouring of Armistice Day. But that memorable date in November, 1918, had no

single hero to idolize. Honor, admiration, and affection went out to every member of the world's greatest military expedition. In the case of Colonel Lindbergh, the outburst of unanimous acclaim was at once personal and symbolical. It was a tribute not less to the war heroes than to their younger brothers. "Lindy" was born in February, 1902, and was only twelve years old when the Great War began and just fifteen when the United States joined in that enterprise. He was nineteen when he took to flying; and for six years past he has been an aviator in constant practice, having averaged during that entire period about 100 miles a day in the air. With habits of thoroughness and concentration, he had become a skilful pilot; and with an inheritance of superior intelligence, ambition, and courage, he had been quietly awaiting his opportunity to base an important career upon that kind of prolonged training in obscurity that is usually the explanation of every achievement of exceptional consequence.

*The
Background
of Training* Colonel Lindbergh's father was for a number of years a well-known Congressman representing a Minnesota district at Washington. Congressman Lindbergh's father had come from Sweden, himself the son of a Scandinavian of standing in his own country. The former Congressman died only three years ago; and in a campaign for Senator, of as recent a date as 1923, his now famous son, then just twenty-one years old, carried him all over Minnesota in an airplane while he was urging the cause of the Non-Partisan League. Later, young Lindbergh had become a pilot in the mail service, doing night-flying between St. Louis and



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THE LATE CONGRESSMAN LINDBERGH

(The aviator's father, who died in 1924, was born in Sweden and was brought to America when only seven months old. He grew up in Minnesota, was graduated from the University of Michigan, and served in Congress from a Minnesota district from 1907 to 1917)

Chicago. It was the offering of the Orteig prize of \$25,000 for a non-stop flight across the Atlantic that had inspired the modest young aviator to enter a competition for which such famous and gallant airmen as Commander Byrd in this country, and the ill-fated Captains Nungesser and Coli, of France, were making preparation. All the newspapers of the country have recorded the circumstances of Lindbergh's undertaking; and for purposes of reminder and record the story of the flight is elsewhere summarized, and illustrated with reproductions of numerous photographs, in this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

*France Adopts
the Aerial
Ambassador*

It was feared that the attempt of Lindbergh so soon after the failure of the French flight might be misunderstood abroad, especially by the French people. Captains Nungesser and Coli had started from France on May 8; and Captain Lindbergh had flown from New York twelve days later, on May 20, arriving in Paris in the early evening of May 21, after a little more than thirty-

three hours in the air. His reception was unprecedented in its ardor. The French people have reason to know more about aviation than others; and to say merely that they gave Lindbergh a generous welcome is to use the emphasis of extreme understatement. Mr. Jusserand, who was for twenty-three years the Ambassador of France at Washington, and who knows Americans as well as he knows his own countrymen, has at our instance written for our readers a most graceful and appreciative interpretation of the manner in which Paris and the whole of France opened their arms and their hearts to receive our young Western pilot during his unannounced visit that lasted nearly two weeks.

"Lindy" with Presidents and Kings Mr. Jusserand makes us feel that the French, with their quick intuition and with their recent experience of aerial warfare, understand the arrival of Lindbergh, without passports or official delay at frontiers, as the beginning of a new kind of peaceful and friendly intercourse among nations. The deep sentiments of regard between the French and American peoples that have endured through a century and a half come into the forefront again as the normal condition, even though obscured at times by temporary misunderstandings. The reception of Lindbergh in France was somehow as warm-hearted and enthusiastic as if he had been himself one of the French aviators, found alive in Labrador and safely returned to France on a vessel of the American Navy. How admirably Ambassador Herrick guided and assisted the young American hero is of itself a story worth preserving as a chapter in the history of diplomatic conduct at its best. How "Lindy" hobnobbed with the President and high personages of France and with the King and Queen of the Belgians, and how he flew alone to England to receive further honors and tokens of friendship from the King, the Prince of Wales and everybody else, are tales that appeal mightily to a romance-loving American public. As for the newspapers, they have told all these stories amazingly well; and it is plain enough that they really like better to write about people of courage in great achievements and of unfailing modesty and courtesy, like Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh and Commander Richard E. Byrd, than about the central figures in sensational crimes and divorce-court proceedings.

*Chamberlin
Flies to
Germany*

A few days after Lindbergh's flight, another young Western aviator, well-trained and competent, carrying as a passenger the man who had financed the undertaking, made even a longer non-stop flight, landing in Germany. Chamberlin is a young man whose home is in Iowa and who might have been receiving many of the honors that fell to Charles Lindbergh if he had been able to make his expected flight a few days sooner, in time to win the Orteig prize. He sailed from Roosevelt Field on June 4, landing in Eisleben, Germany, on June 6, having flown an estimated distance of about 3,900 miles in forty-three hours. Clarence Chamberlin, with his companion, Mr. Levine, was received throughout Germany with great enthusiasm and was accorded many official honors. It is to be noted also that, but for unfortunate circumstances that caused delay, Commander Byrd would probably have crossed the Atlantic safely and won the Orteig prize; and it is well known that others were preparing to make the same attempt. Thus the Lindbergh achievement is celebrated not alone for what this intrepid young airman was able to do, but for his success in dashing ahead alone to win honors and prizes and to mark the new era of long non-stop flights upon which we have now entered.

*A Triumph
of Mechanical
Engineering*

It is not to be forgotten that this era is the work not so much of brave aviators as of engineers, who have through patient and protracted effort been steadily improving the construction of airplanes, and who have especially been perfecting the type of engine with which all of these American long-distance planes are now equipped. We read of a projected flight to Hawaii from our Pacific Coast; while English aviators are attempting another non-stop flight to India after having recently failed in the first attempt, landing safely on the waters of the Persian Gulf. French aviators are about to undertake other long non-stop flights, and undoubtedly aviation has been much accelerated. There has been



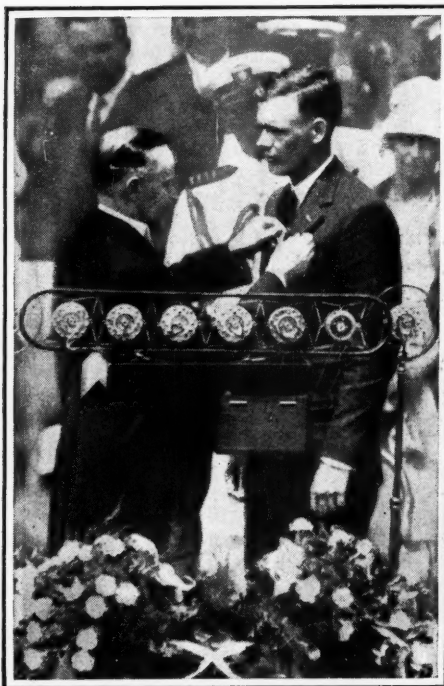
HONORING AN AMERICAN AVIATOR IN PARIS

(The achievement of Captain Lindbergh in flying, alone, from the United States to France aroused the emotional French people. From the highest to the lowest they paid tribute to his skill and daring. He is here being received by Marshal Foch—at the extreme right of the group—with Ambassador Herrick and his son Parmely Herrick at the left)

some talk of regular flight on the commercial basis across the Atlantic. Certain sanguine persons promise to have a trans-Atlantic air line for carrying special mails and a limited number of passengers in the very near future. Lindbergh (who has been commissioned by President Coolidge a Colonel in the Officers' Reserve Corps, and promoted from Captain to Colonel in the Missouri National Guard) is a constant advocate of commercial aviation, but does not expect to see a regular service across the ocean for a number of years. He says that Europe admires the American air mail system, but that otherwise we are far behind Europe in aviation for civilian purposes.

*Ovations and
Then Some
Regular Job*

Upon no young man, perhaps, in all the history of the world have honors been bestowed so suddenly and so abundantly as upon Lindbergh. No one else has ever achieved such enviable—and doubtless enduring—fame



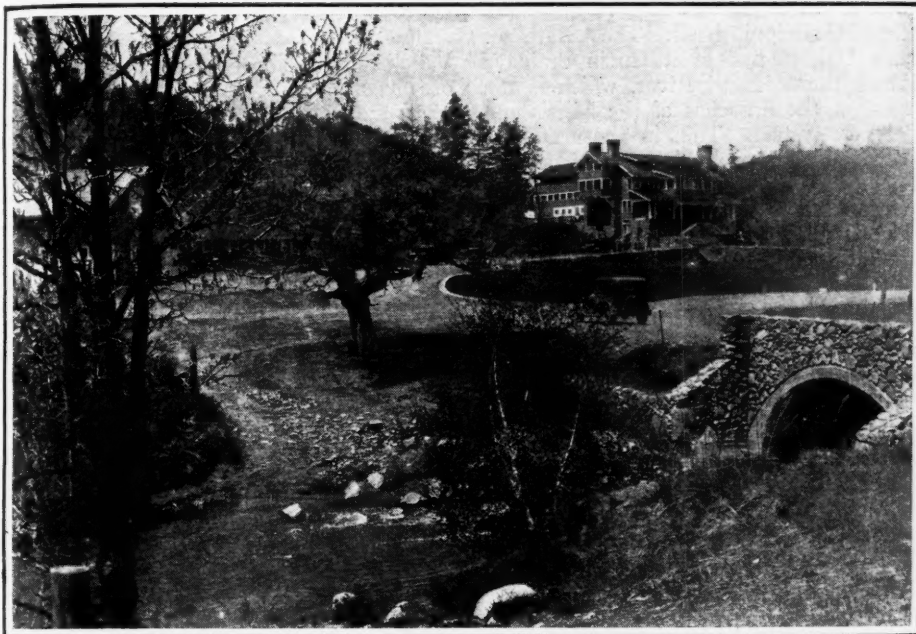
PRESIDENT COOLIDGE BESTOWS THE DISTINGUISHED FLYING CROSS UPON COLONEL LINDBERGH

within the compass of a brief month. The aviator's admired mother, reticent, competent, and intelligent goes back to resume with the summer term her work as a teacher of chemistry in Detroit. Colonel Lindbergh himself shows an unflinching common sense that will carry him safely through these raging storms of adulation, and permit him to resume a career that has always been marked by unflinching effort while lit up by something of the Viking spirit of adventure. Doubtless he will be glad to find himself regularly at work again. He had returned from Europe on the cruiser *Memphis*, which sailed up Potomac Bay and brought him to Washington on Saturday, June 11, where every possible honor awaited him. He and his mother were guests of President and Mrs. Coolidge. Still awaiting Lindbergh were the ovations of New York, St. Louis and elsewhere.

The President Adopts South Dakota On Monday evening the presidential train left Washington for South Dakota, the President having decided upon the State Game Lodge in the Black Hills as summer head-

quarters. There he will maintain his residence for about three months. On his way, he made a speech at the dedication of a park in Hammond, Indiana, Tuesday afternoon. He arrived at Pierre, the capital of South Dakota, Wednesday noon, where the Governor and officials of the State were prepared to welcome him. The people of the entire Northwest were eager to show in every way their good-will toward the President. As this nation of continental extent has matured, and as its center of population has steadily moved westward in the Mississippi Valley, it is a remarkable thing that there has come to be a complete acquiescence in the view that the District of Columbia is to remain as the permanent seat of Government, although it is upon the Atlantic seaboard. Fifty years ago there was much talk of a probable removal of the capital to St. Louis, or to some other place nearer the geographical center of the country. But, with the further aggrandizement of the City of Washington, there is no thought of a future change in the seat of Government. Our Western fellow citizens are accustomed to travel, and facilities are improving all the time. They do not object to the journey that means Washington or New York. They are much more cosmopolitan than the people living in the Eastern States, and more broadly informed. Since the Capital is to remain at Washington, it would seem that President Coolidge is establishing a valuable precedent by going to the Dakotas for the summer. Next year he might like to try Colorado, or some other Western State.

The President in the Farming Northwest The President will enjoy fishing in the trout streams of the afforested mountain park where he has become the guest of the State of South Dakota. But the present season is not one in which our foremost official can allow his mind to be dormant or lay aside the great affairs with which the country is concerned. The executive offices, over which the President's secretary, Hon. Everett Sanders, presides, are at Rapid City, thirty-two miles from the Game Lodge in which Mr. and Mrs. Coolidge are domiciled. It is the President's plan to keep daily office hours and to motor to Rapid City. He has not sought the Black Hills as a refuge from the people of the prairies and rolling plains. On the contrary, he has chosen a place in the very center, as it were, of the upper half of the vast trans-Mississippi farm area



THE STATE GAME LODGE IN THE BLACK HILLS OF SOUTH DAKOTA, WHERE PRESIDENT AND MRS. COOLIDGE WILL SPEND THE SUMMER

of America. Many of the farmers of this region are of New England stock, while others are from all parts of the United States, and great numbers are of Scandinavian, German, and central European origin. All of Mr. Coolidge's own farming proclivities will be stimulated by the rural life with which he is now surrounded.

*South Dakota
and Her
Neighbors*

South Dakota, formerly a wheat State, now raises three times as much corn as wheat; and its live stock and dairy products are large and steadily increasing. With its 77,000 square miles, this State lies immediately south of North Dakota, which is almost as large in area and which continues to be predominantly a wheat State. On the south is the State of Nebraska, having the same area as South Dakota and about twice the population. Bounding South Dakota on the east are Minnesota and Iowa, each of which has about four times the population of South Dakota, Minnesota being somewhat larger in area and Iowa considerably smaller. To the west of South Dakota are the mountainous States of Wyoming and Montana. There are now about 700,000 white people in South Dakota and nearly 25,000 Indians.

*Meeting the
"Dirt
Farmers"*

President Coolidge has been close enough to the "farm bloc" at Washington, and to the leaders of agricultural organizations to be quite well informed about the feeling in the West that there ought to be a new policy at Washington to aid farmers in overcoming their present disadvantages. The farmer does not succeed well in securing economic stability for the principal commodities that he offers to the country. Mr. Coolidge will not find the West in perfect agreement as to the nature of the troubles that have overtaken farm communities, and still less in unison as to possible remedies. But he will find it easier while staying in South Dakota to become really acquainted with the farmers of the West, and he will know how to enter into their feelings.

*Waterways
of the Central
Valley*

While proceeding to his summer home, Mr. Coolidge was traversing the upper Mississippi Valley. His route lay across the network of streams borne to the Mississippi by the main channel of the Ohio River. He was passing the artificial channel that carries waters from Lake Michigan into the Mississippi; and to reach Winona in the

State of Minnesota he had to cross the great Mississippi itself. The State of South Dakota has as its main drainage channel the Missouri River, which is the largest of the branches of the Mississippi waterway system. Thus in South Dakota Mr. Coolidge is well placed to focus his thoughts upon the question of permanent engineering works for the protection of the lowlands of the South from future periodical inundations due to the collective drainage of the Mississippi Valley in times of spring rainfall.

*Preparing a
Program of
River Control*

Studies by the President's committee of engineers, together with those of the standing authorities of the Mississippi River Commission and the reports of Secretary Hoover, are likely to result in the formulation of a reliable program. The problem of Mississippi River control has been diligently studied for a long time past; and for ordinary seasons it has already been fairly well solved. But this year's experience shows that a good deal more must be done to make the lowlands entirely safe for cultivation and inhabitancy. It is probably true that there has never before in the history of the country been a ca-

tastrophe that has directly concerned as many people as these latest Mississippi Valley floods. Through Secretary Hoover's organization, with Red Cross funds and relief measures coöperating with agencies of the States most immediately concerned, the emergency in its immediate needs has been fairly well met. But it is the evident disposition of the country to support Congress in granting whatever further relief may be needed in areas where the monetary loss will probably total several hundred million dollars. It is also undoubtedly the prevailing sentiment that we should undertake such an engineering program, however large, as may be found best for the permanent control of flood waters.

*Perhaps
a Special
Session*

Thus the opening session of the new Congress will have ample business on its hands; and it is thought somewhat likely that the President may call the Congress to meet a few weeks earlier than the regular date, which is the first Monday in December. Undoubtedly the President and the Administration are hoping that Congress may enact a farm relief measure that will fairly satisfy Western and Southern demands,



THE SUMMER WHITE HOUSE, IN THE BLACK HILLS OF SOUTH DAKOTA, IS NOT REMOTE FROM THE GREAT AGRICULTURAL REGION OF THE WEST

(The State Game Lodge, where the President will spend the summer, is thirty miles from Rapid City. Theodore Roosevelt's Dakota ranch experience, beginning in 1883, was near Medora, to the north)

while modifying or omitting some details of the McNary-Haugen bill that led to the President's veto message.

*Why Not
Stabilize
Agriculture?*

It took us a long time to find out how to protect the business community by providing a safe system of bank credits and an elastic currency. We now have accomplished this, under the Federal Reserve legislation and under the guidance of the Federal Reserve Board. This system has already proved itself of inestimable value to the mercantile world. Also for a long time we were trying to find a way to bring the great transportation systems under a form of regulation and control that, while protecting their owners from injustice, would uphold the public interest. Thus under the Interstate Commerce Commission we have a system which, though not perfect, makes for stability. We have a Tariff Board that helps the President and the Treasury Department in the study and administration of our system of protective tariffs. We have a Federal Trade Board that aims to subject great corporations to the tests of the anti-trust laws, with the minimum disturbance of industry. The Federal Reserve Banks, by their fixing from time to time of rediscount rates, actually regulate the price the user pays for borrowed capital. The Interstate Commerce Commission by its regulation of rates fixes the prices that are collected by railroads for freight and passenger service. The tariff system and the anti-monopoly laws, as administered, go far in the direction of price-fixing for commodities of all sorts. It is therefore rather absurd that so fundamental an interest as agriculture is charged with seeking to secure the benefit of legal price-fixing, when it demands laws that would help at least to secure stability and to protect the farmer from those violent fluctuations that always work to his detriment.



FLORIDA SENDS FARM PRODUCTS TO MISSISSIPPI FLOOD VICTIMS

(These Red Cross workers of West Palm Beach County recall that only last September their own neighborhood was the victim of damage wrought by Nature)

*Mr. Lowden
States the Farm
Problem*

We are publishing in this number of the REVIEW a careful article by Hon. Frank O. Lowden, who is widely recognized as the foremost leader of the movement for a permanent agricultural policy. In this article, Mr. Lowden attempts rather to state the problem than to offer a complete and final solution. He has devoted many years of a finely trained intelligence not merely to the carrying on of his own farm enterprises but—what is more important—to a study of the nature of the economic position of agriculture, as it might be improved by better organization with the aid of Government.

*A Lucid
Analysis*

This, in our judgment, is the broadest and most lucid statement of the farm problem that has been made anywhere since the veto of the McNary-Haugen bill. Mr. Lowden shows the need of a Farm Board, and expounds its essential functions. He takes the cotton crop particularly as an example, in order to show how the proposed method of financing a temporary surplus might save the Southern producers several hundred million dollars a year without any detriment to the consumer of cotton products. Mr. Lowden's principal concern in this article is to convince the reader that

there is really an agricultural problem of major importance, and that it can be solved to the immense advantage of the farmers without any loss to the consumers of farm products. He has in mind the Eastern farmer not less than the farmer of the Mississippi Valley or of the cotton growing South. He makes specific allusions, indeed, to the tobacco planter in the East and the fruit grower in the far West. All agriculture is alike in the peculiar effect of a "bumper" crop.

*The Views of
Mr. Meredith*

The former Secretary of Agriculture, Hon. Edwin T. Meredith, of Iowa, is discussing these farm problems in addresses, in articles, and in his widely circulated farm periodicals, with great force and brilliancy. He points out some defects in the McNary-Haugen bill, but believes in the proposed farm board and in the equalization principle. He would, however, fix the minimum price of major crops in advance of their planting; and there is much to be said from the standpoint of sound business principles in favor of his argument. With an intelligent farm board, it should be feasible to inform the growers of Northwestern spring wheat at sowing time that they could count upon

the collective handling of their crop on the basis of a stipulated price per bushel. The range breeders, and the beef-cattle feeders of the corn belt, could readily be told at least four months in advance what they might expect to receive, and on what plan their cattle could be distributed and finally marketed. If men like Mr. Lowden and Mr. Meredith, together with some of the men who have served most valuably upon the Federal Reserve Board, and other leaders of experience as financiers and economists, could serve at the outset upon the Federal Farm Board, we should undoubtedly have entered upon a wholly new era, not only in the history of our agriculture, but also in the progress of American civilization.

*Politics
and the 1928
Election*

It will be practically one year before the two great parties hold their conventions. But the preliminaries are themselves a part of the quadrennial game of super-politics. Less and less are these presidential contests improvised near election time. No other competition is so minutely and studiously prearranged. There is a legal and constitutional technique involved in providing a new President for the United States that has become more or less perfunctory and mechanical. Over against this formal routine is an extra-constitutional structure of party organization and method. Apart from both of these systems, there is the less perfectly defined but dominating influence of tradition and public opinion.

*Everybody's
Concern in
Government*

Government is a steadily increasing factor in the expense account of every community and every family. It is therefore a matter of importance to everybody that the policies of government should be wise and beneficial, and that public administration should be intelligent and efficient as well as honest and economical. Along with the election of the President for four years, we have the election of one-third of the Senators for six years and of the entire House of Representatives for two years. In many States, also, occurs on the same day the election of State and local officials. Much is at stake, and the education of the citizen in all that pertains to his political responsibilities is essential to the continued well-being of the republic.



HON. EDWIN T. MEREDITH, OF IOWA

(The former Secretary of Agriculture is taking a leading place in current discussion of the farm problem looking toward permanent remedies)

The Legal Formalities

It is always well to remind our less experienced voters that, technically and legally, the President is not chosen directly by the people but by a body of Presidential Electors. These Electors are chosen in each State, in groups equaling in number the State's Congressmen plus the two Senators. The voters will choose these Presidential Electors on the first Tuesday after the first Monday of November, 1928, when they will also cast their ballots for Congressmen. The Presidential Electors thus chosen in November will meet in the capitals of the several States on the second Monday in January, 1929, to elect a President. They will send the results to Washington, where the sealed returns from the forty-eight States are, on the second Wednesday in February, to be opened and counted in joint session of Congress. The final result will then be announced, and the person declared elected President will take the oath of office and enter upon his duties on the fourth of March, 1929. Such is an outline of the legal proceedings necessary to the election of a new chief magistrate of the United States.

The Party Conventions

What the citizen sees more plainly before him, however, is, first the machinery that has been set up by political parties, and second, the methods by which the voters themselves, acting in their respective States, have endeavored to keep the party management from ignoring public opinion. Under our party system, the Presidential Electors do not exercise individual preference or discretion. They are chosen on party tickets, with an understanding—scrupulously observed—that they will vote for the popularly designated candidate of their party. For a long time it has been customary for the parties to hold great conventions, usually late in June or early in July. These are made up of delegates who are organized in accordance with the rules and regulations that the conventions adopt for themselves. The Presidential Electors in 1924 numbered 531; and it is customary to have the delegate bodies in the conventions approximately double the number of electors, that is, twice as large as the membership of both houses of Congress, plus a few delegates from Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. Perhaps next year's conventions will be held in Chicago's new Auditorium.

The Primary System Now in Use

Sixteen years ago there had developed a serious strain between the "Progressive" and the "Stand-pat" factions of the Republican party. As a practical result, it was charged that the conservative elements, controlling a majority of the membership of the standing National Republican Committee, were planning to dominate the national convention of 1912, regardless of the sentiment of voters in the leading Republican States. The consequence was that there came about a rapid development of the primary election system as applied to the choice of party delegates. This included, also, in a number of States an expression on the part of the voters of their preference among presidential candidates. The leading Republican States in that year expressed a strong preference for Colonel Roosevelt. The renomination of President Taft was, however, secured by virtue of the support of delegates from the non-Republican States of the South and from the non-voting Territories. This sharp divergence, between obvious party preference and the controlled decision of the convention, resulted in the overwhelming defeat of the Republican Presidential Electors, and in the victory of the Democratic candidate, Governor Woodrow Wilson, of New Jersey.

Conditions in 1916

Four years later, the effort of the Republicans was directed toward finding a candidate upon whom the conservative Republicans and the Progressives might unite. The endeavor in 1916 to heal the wide breach by making Colonel Roosevelt the joint candidate was not found possible, and the Hon. Charles E. Hughes was selected. He resigned his seat on the Supreme Bench at Washington to obey the mandate of the two Republican wings. He would have been elected but for the unhealed factional quarrel in California. The Republican division in that State resulted in giving Mr. Wilson another term.

Wood, Lowden and Harding, in 1920

The preliminary contest of 1920, so far as Republicans were concerned, was an intense one. This was due to the fact that Theodore Roosevelt had died on January 6, 1919. All factions and elements of the party had agreed to offer him the 1920 nomination; and if he had lived there would have been

no preliminary contest, and he would have been chosen in the convention by acclamation. But his death brought the primaries into active service. The two leading candidates in 1920 were Gen. Leonard Wood and Governor Frank O. Lowden, of Illinois. The candidacy of General Wood had perhaps been unduly pressed in advance, and where it had gained strength it had also aroused antagonism. As first choice he was in the lead, but he lacked strength as second choice. Mr. Lowden was on many accounts the logical candidate; and it is not too much to say that many patriotic Republicans have always held that he should have been the nominee at Chicago seven years ago. But, when otherwise his nomination would probably have been accomplished, a report was disseminated in a highly sensational way to the effect that money had been used improperly to influence one or two Missouri delegates. While it was evident that Mr. Lowden was in no way responsible for such an occurrence, the momentary effect was used to the best advantage by politicians who had a plan of their own. Senator Harding of Ohio had been the presidential officer of the Republican convention of 1916; and his political manager, Mr. Harry Daugherty of Ohio, in conjunction with other clever politicians working behind the scenes, succeeded in side-tracking Mr. Lowden and in securing the nomination of Mr. Harding, who had not been widely known to the country. In the reaction following the events of the Great War, with the struggle in the Senate over the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations, any Republican nominee—whether Mr. Lowden, General Wood, Mr. Harding, or Judge Hughes (who had been accidentally defeated in 1916)—would undoubtedly have been elected by a great majority in 1920.

The Choice of Harding This contest of 1920 exhibited the presidential primary system and also the convention system in full vigor. A good many candidates were entered in the race, but only three had been represented by extensive nation-wide efforts in the primaries. These were General Wood, Governor Lowden, and Senator Hiram Johnson of California. Most of the others were presented as "favorite sons" of their respective States, any one of whom might be chosen as a final compromise. On the first ballot in the convention at Chicago, Gen. Leonard

Wood received 287½ ballots, with Governor Lowden polling 211½ and Senator Johnson 133½. Next in order were Governor Sproul of Pennsylvania, with 83½, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler of New York, with 69, and Senator Harding of Ohio with 65½. In view of their subsequent prominence, it is worth while to note that on this first ballot for President, Governor Coolidge of Massachusetts received 34 votes, Senator LaFollette of Wisconsin 24, Hon. Herbert Hoover of California 5½, and Senator Borah of Idaho 2. In that convention 493 votes were necessary to constitute a majority. General Wood developed his highest strength on the fourth ballot, reaching 314 votes. Governor Lowden, on the sixth and seventh ballots, had 311½. The Harding vote began to grow after the fourth ballot, but did not surpass the maximum of Lowden or Wood until the ninth. On the tenth there was a great swing to Harding that gave him 200 votes more than he needed for the nomination, and the convention at once made his choice unanimous.

Leadership in 1924

It was the so-called "Harding-Coolidge" Administration that was before the country in 1924, President Harding having died on August 2, 1923. As Vice-President, Mr. Coolidge had presided over the Senate for two years and a half. Also, he had been present, on Mr. Harding's request, at the regular Cabinet meetings. Some difficulties had arisen which required three Cabinet changes, but as the new White House incumbent Mr. Coolidge met these situations with patience, firmness, and good judgment. The leading members of the Harding Cabinet had remained in their places. As Secretary of State, Judge Hughes had become recognized as the foremost of all statesmen engaged in active international work. Mr. Mellon, as Secretary of the Treasury, was accepted as the leading public financier of the world. Mr. Hoover, at the head of the Department of Commerce, was building up the most efficient ministry of economic affairs. Certain boards and commissions were functioning with notable success, and the Administration as a whole enjoyed high prestige. If Mr. Harding had lived through his first term and had desired a renomination, there would have been no opposing voice raised in the Republican convention. If he had

survived, but by reason of impaired health had refused to consider a second term, there would doubtless have been numerous candidates as in 1920. Judge Hughes and Governor Lowden would probably have been the most conspicuous. But, Mr. Coolidge, since August 21, 1923, had been actually at the helm; and it was agreed upon all hands that he should be renominated. Mr. Hughes, Mr. Hoover, and the other members of the Administration constituted a part of the executive organization that was looking to the country for a vote of confidence.

*Choosing
Vice-Presi-
dents*

The only possible contest as regards nominations in the Republican convention of 1924 had to do with the vice-presidency. The 1920 convention that had nominated Mr. Harding at Chicago had been protracted until late Saturday afternoon, with the delegates eager to take trains for home. The Harding managers had planned to present Senator Lenroot of Wisconsin as their choice for Vice-President. But before this could be done a stentorian voice from the Northwest, emanating from the back of the convention hall, had named Governor Coolidge of Massachusetts. The delegates had lost no time in accepting the proposal, and adjourning the convention. During the first term of Mr. Harding, Mr. Coolidge, besides presiding over the Senate, had sat silently but attentively in Cabinet meetings. The renomination of Mr. Harding, if he had lived, would have carried with it the choice of Mr. Coolidge for a second term as Vice-President. The death of President Harding occurred on August 2, 1923, after he had served about two and a half years of his second term. Mr. Coolidge was nominated for the Presidency in 1924 without any dissent or opposition that is important enough to be remembered. The only office over which the convention gave itself opportunity to deliberate was that of Vice-President. It proceeded to nominate Governor Lowden. Engaged, however, as he was in various useful activities, and absorbed in the problems of economic reconstruction in the Middle West, Mr. Lowden felt a distaste for what he may have regarded as the somewhat empty dignities of the vice-presidency. Having been nominated, he declined, expressing appreciation of the honor. There was no emergency that called for his acceptance as a duty to the

party or to the public. The convention chose another Illinois leader of unusual fitness by reason of personal qualities, as well as by training and experience; and so Gen. Charles G. Dawes became Vice-President.

*Looking
to the Next
Contest*

We have arrived again at the point when it is customary to consider what can be done to prepare for the electoral contest of next year. If it should be agreed upon all hands that President Coolidge is to be put forward as the Republican nominee for another term, the public interest will center upon the intense struggle that is to be made within the Democratic ranks to prevent the nomination of Governor Smith of New York. In renominating Mr. Coolidge, the Republicans would undoubtedly wish to continue General Dawes in his present office. No public position in the world can compare in widespread influence and power with our American presidency. This is by virtue of the office rather than the qualities of the incumbent. A Lenin or a Mussolini attains authority through exceptional qualities and under abnormal conditions. A Russian Czar or an Austrian Emperor in earlier periods was immensely powerful by virtue of the prerogatives of his office, with an added influence in external affairs in accordance with his abilities and his ambitions. But the American presidency is powerful in its very nature, even where the incumbent is relatively passive and anxious not to stretch his prerogatives.

*Longer or
Shorter
Terms?*

Whether a prolongation of the official period of a given President would result in his aggrandizement, or would on the contrary weaken his prestige and strew his pathway with obstacles, is a question open to discussion. This country is in no manner dependent upon the wisdom or the ability of any individual leader, whether in public office or otherwise. There are many who believe that one four-year term is enough for any President, and that the tendency to renominate an incumbent for another successive term is unfortunate. President Coolidge's leadership in the national sense began only after his elevation to the presidency through the death of President Harding. His nomination three years ago showed how quickly and how fully the Republican party had acquired confidence

in him as a result of the actual test to which he had been subjected. On the fourth of March, some three months ago, Mr. Coolidge had completed half of his present term. Counting from July 1 he has yet to serve half of the year 1927, the whole of the year 1928, and two months and four days of the year 1929. Thus he has still before him the opportunity to achieve further results along the line of his present domestic and international policies. As Vice-President and President, he will have served eight years. In his excellent article, contributed to the June number of this periodical, Senator Fess of Ohio discussed the question of presidential terms, including the so-called two-term tradition, with unusual thoroughness. Mr. Fess thinks it reasonable to consider that another term for President Coolidge would not substantially violate the two-term custom. In any case, Mr. Fess sees nothing sacred in the tradition, and thinks there is no possible danger that the American public would choose to bring harm upon itself by continuing in office a President who ought to be superseded.

*Loyalty
as a Factor*

There is one phase of the question that is rather delicate and that has not been much discussed. The party in power naturally desires to uphold the prestige of its own Administration. The President is regarded as head and leader of the party. There is bound to develop among politicians a loyalty that becomes personal in its nature. Few people not experienced in politics can be aware how politicians, whether in office or out of it, become involved in a network of relationships that lead up to the President and the Administration. The incumbent in the White House has, therefore, a great advantage, even when he is not conscious of using his opportunities for his own continuance in office. Republicans in Congress, in the National Republican Committee, in State and district party committees, and in various State and local offices, do not like to appear as opposing a further term of office for the President. If the President's confidential friends and advisers are evidently working to smooth the way for a further term for their Chief, it becomes difficult for politicians not so convinced to express open dissent. So long as the incumbent—Mr. Coolidge, for example—continues in office, they all wish

to uphold the prestige of the Republican Administration. If they are outspoken as opposing an additional term, or as favoring the candidacy of somebody else, it is difficult for them to explain at the same time that they are thoroughgoing supporters of the President, and expect so to remain until the end of his term in 1929.

*What the
President
Thinks*

It is for this reason that many Republicans have been anxious to know what the President himself thinks about it. When Grover Cleveland accepted his first nomination, he announced with deep conviction that he believed that no President should be a candidate for a second consecutive term, and he declared that if elected he would serve one term and under no circumstances accept a renomination. But after he had reached the middle of his term, he was persuaded to think that his services were essential to the party and the country; and in disregard of his pledge of 1884 he sought and gained a renomination in 1888, only to be defeated by Benjamin Harrison.

*Roosevelt in
1908—Coolidge
in 1928*

Theodore Roosevelt, who as Vice-President had filled out the unexpired term of William McKinley, and had then been nominated and elected for a full succeeding term, had declared in 1904 that he should regard this full term as his second, and would under no circumstances accept a nomination in 1908. He stuck to this pledge, in spite of great pressure that was brought upon him from all directions in 1907 and 1908. He would easily have been nominated in the Chicago convention of 1908, for what he himself had declared to be substantially a third consecutive term, if he had not firmly adhered to the position that he had announced when nominated in 1904. The difference between Mr. Coolidge's position and that of Mr. Roosevelt may be summed up in two points. The first point is that Mr. Coolidge in 1924 made no pledge or promise about future possible nominations. The second point is that Mr. Roosevelt actually served about three and a half years in his first term, while Mr. Coolidge served only about one and a half years. At the end of his present term, Mr. Coolidge will have served about five and a half years, whereas Roosevelt served about seven and a half. This of course, makes a practical difference.

*A Decision
may be
Expected*

President Coolidge is a man who does his duty as he sees it and faces life calmly, without thinking it necessary to make explanations. People were wondering and guessing about his vacation plans for the present summer; but he had nothing to say while he was considering many proposals and invitations. With no evidence of anxiety over the question, he finally reached a conclusion and at once allowed the public to know his plans. In the same way, doubtless, Mr. Coolidge will in due time give to the public his decision regarding the question of his willingness to accept nomination next summer for another term. Naturally, a reply from Mr. Coolidge to the inquiries that have been made on this score would relieve the minds of many good citizens, even though not active in politics, while it would also do much to clear the political atmosphere.

*What will
the Primaries
Disclose?*

We still have with us the institution known as the presidential primary. The primary laws are not alike in different States, and the dates of the primaries are scattered over a period of more than half a year. It was formerly the case that the earliest of these primaries occurred in December, about seven months before the Conventions, in the State of South Dakota. It was mentioned as a coincidence that President Coolidge had selected for his long summer vacation an interesting location in the Black Hills of that same State of South Dakota. It further happens that the Republicans of South Dakota are regarded at present as not in favor of the nomination of Mr. Coolidge for another term. Straw ballots recently taken have shown that Mr. Coolidge's greatest strength does not lie in the Northwest. Thus a straw ballot conducted by newspapers utilizing certain syndicated services controlled by Mr. John H. Perry have produced some rather surprising results. For example, the Republican voters of South Dakota in this Autocaster Service ballot gave 13,121 votes for Governor Lowden and only sixty-six votes for President Coolidge.

*Some
"Straw-Vote"
Tests*

It is interesting to note that South Dakota gave 4,341 votes for Mr. Hoover and only one-sixth as many as that for Senator Borah. The poll in other Northwestern States was not relatively so large, but it may be re-

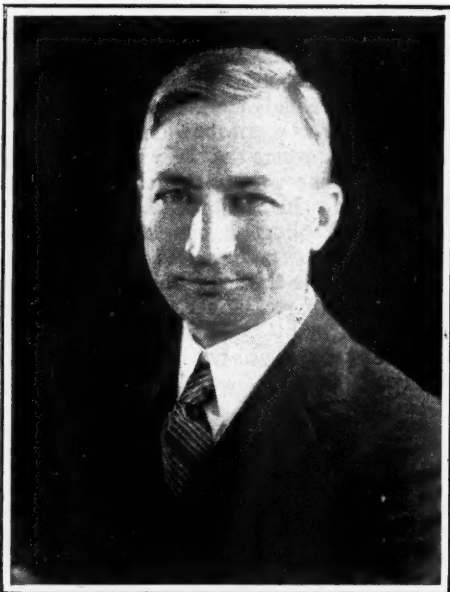
marked that Illinois and Iowa gave twice as many votes for Lowden as for Coolidge. In North Dakota there were only fifty-three votes for Coolidge as against 2,284 for Lowden. In Oklahoma there were 291 votes for Coolidge as against 5,502 for Lowden. In Nebraska, where the poll was light, there were sixty-nine votes for Coolidge and 540 for Lowden. In Montana, the votes were scattered, Coolidge having about half of the total number. In Kansas Coolidge had practically one-third of the votes while Lowden, Dawes, Hoover, and Borah together had two-thirds. In Iowa, this particular straw vote was not large enough to be highly significant.

*Certain
Inferences*

It may be well to remind our readers that straw votes at this period, while highly interesting, are in no sense conclusive as regards individual candidates. Two or three things, however, are reasonable inferences. One is that this straw ballot gave opportunity to show that in South Dakota and other farm States there was deep disappointment over Mr. Coolidge's veto of the McNary-Haugen bill. It is to be noted, however, that in Minnesota, where the vote was largest, Coolidge received 39,747 votes and Lowden only 32,340. Illinois, his home State, naturally gave Lowden a relatively large vote. Ohio gave Coolidge four times as many votes as Lowden, while Indiana gave Lowden almost three times as many as Coolidge; but in neither of these States was the vote large enough to be really indicative. It would be altogether useless and misleading to try by such means as these straw votes to prejudice the presidential primaries. If Mr. Coolidge should refuse to have his name presented, various candidates would emerge. Meanwhile, as South Dakota's primary date has been changed, it loses its political significance.

*The West
May Persuade
Mr. Coolidge*

From the standpoint of the Republican party, it is important that the East should thoroughly appreciate the high qualifications of the Illinois statesman, who has no sectional bias, is no mere agrarian zealot, and who, in short, is far from being the narrow-minded propagandist of a single issue. On the other hand, it is reasonable to ask that the West should not misjudge President Coolidge, whose sympathies are not Eastern and local but are nation-wide,



MR. EDWARD T. MEHREN

(Who reports for our readers the discussions and accomplishments of the International Economic Conference which met at Geneva in May)

and whose devotion to agriculture and its prosperity is genuine and personal and not merely a political attitude. Mr. Coolidge is, however, a cautious man; and close to him are highly conservative financial advisers—honest, sincere, and intelligent they undoubtedly are—who entertain new ideas with great difficulty. These very men fought the Federal Reserve legislation, although they are now its proudest upholders. Apart from them, with long weeks in the West, Mr. Coolidge may somewhat revise his views.

*Prices
Continue
to Fluctuate*

Glancing at Chicago quotations, we note that the price of hogs at the stockyards on June 8 per hundredweight was from \$8.50 to \$8.90. On the same date last year, the corresponding price was \$13.85 to \$14.80. We might take several pages to comment, with these contrasting figures for a text. The American consumer of meat products gets no appreciable benefit from this fluctuation; but from the economic standpoint such a violent oscillation of prices is simply death to the farmers of Iowa and the West. Fluctuations in cotton are similarly destructive of wholesome and sound agricultural progress in the South; while no

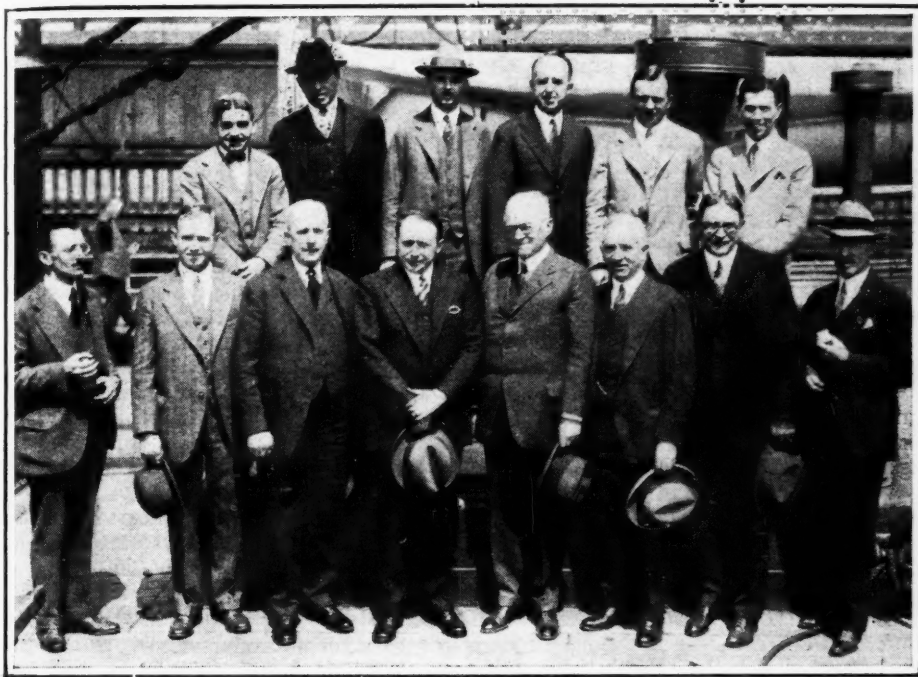
American user of cotton goods is benefited. It is true that the British and European buyers of American cotton and meat products, through organized methods of purchase, are often able to obtain our American exportable surplus at abnormally low prices. We are victimizing the American farmer, because we permit fluctuations of this kind for which remedies should be found. We need an agricultural policy that will endeavor to bring about conditions as stable in agriculture as those that now exist in the supply of money and credit, and in the operation and rate-making of our railroads. Governor Lowden, in the article he has written for this periodical, goes to the very roots of the problem, and in our judgment no harm could come to the country from trying to apply such remedies as Lowden believes to be feasible.

*Friendship
As a Bond
Among Nations*

As these pages were closing for the press, Commander Byrd was about to join the other airmen who in transatlantic flights have this summer been everywhere hailed as unofficial ambassadors of friendship. Even in the sacrifice of those brave and skilful French aviators, Captains Nungesser and Coli, there is to be found the consoling reflection that they, quite as truly as the successful Americans, have brought the nations together in new bonds of kindness and mutual esteem. It is thought probable that the French fliers actually crossed the ocean, and that their airplane came to earth at some remote place in the wilderness of the North. The large additional gift of Mr. John D. Rockefeller jr., for continuance of the work of restoration at Versailles and the Rheims Cathedral, was felicitously announced while Colonel Lindbergh was in Paris. This restoration work is directed by an admirable commission, of which our friend Mr. Jusserand is chairman.

*Business Men
As Envoys*

Besides the airmen, there have been other special envoys of America this summer, planning and working for better relations. It has been frequently pointed out of late that economic relationships are becoming more important than political ones, and that the world's commerce is growingly impatient of those kinds of nationalistic assertion that obstruct the beneficent tides of business interchange. We are publishing this month an excellent article summing up the work



Photograph by McGraw-Hill

AMERICAN DELEGATES TO THE ECONOMIC CONFERENCE AT GENEVA, WITH SOME OF THEIR EXPERT ADVISERS

(Bottom row, left to right, are: Henry Chalmers, of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce; Dr. Arthur N. Young, economic adviser, Department of State; Roland W. Boyden, of Boston, International Chamber of Commerce; four of the delegates—Dr. Julius Klein, Department of Commerce; Henry M. Robinson [chairman], of Los Angeles; Norman H. Davis; and Alonzo E. Taylor, of Stanford University; and Dana Durand, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. Top row, left to right, are: Dr. Louis Domeratzky, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce; John P. Frey, editor, adviser on labor questions; Edward Eyre Hunt, Department of Commerce; Grosvenor Jones, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce; E. W. Camp, Treasury Department; and W. L. Finger, secretary to Dr. Julius Klein)

of the recent Economic Conference at Geneva. The author, Mr. Edward J. Mehren, is one of the officers of the McGraw-Hill Company of New York, publishers of important journals representing applied science in various lines of engineering and industry. Mr. Mehren is typical of the increasing number of American economists and business experts who are visiting Europe and participating in conferences of one kind or another. How valuable such American representation abroad has become is evident upon the reading of Mr. Mehren's remarkable account of the Geneva gathering. Meanwhile Mr. Owen D. Young has gone abroad as chairman of a very large delegation of American business men who are attending the Congress at Stockholm of the International Chamber of Commerce, the sessions extending from June 27 to July 2. Mr. Young said, just before sailing on June 14, that this would bring together a thousand business men of the forty-three

countries represented in the Chamber. He spoke most hopefully regarding the progress of the world in economic rehabilitation since the war.

*Reparations
Payments*

It will be remembered that Mr. Young was a leading member of the group of international economists and business men who formulated the Dawes Plan and initiated the present reparations system. Thus far Germany has made full payments, as prescribed. Mr. S. Parker Gilbert, the young American financier who is now resident in Berlin as Agent General for Reparations, has made a recent report that is highly encouraging. Beginning next year, the payments due from Germany will be much greater than heretofore; yet Mr. Gilbert is confident that the reparations plan will bear the strain, and that German revenues allocated for this purpose will suffice to meet the maximum annual obligation.

The French Debt Still Unsettled : The present time is favorable for some informal diplomatic conferences with France. The

agreement about the debt to the United States that was negotiated by Ambassador Berenger fails to secure acceptance at Paris. It was probably a little more favorable to France than the arrangement that M. Caillaux as Minister of Finance had himself brought to Washington in the confident hope of securing a settlement. It seems that France would like to have the Berenger agreement modified at least to the extent of an understanding that there may be reopened negotiations in future, in case German payments should fail. We can see no sound reason why such suggestions should not be accepted at Washington. Undoubtedly, the French people as well as the American people wish to settle all questions between the two countries in the spirit of cordial friendship, and also in accordance with sound financial principles. If American business men of the type of those visiting Europe this summer should confer with French business men of like character and standing, they might reach conclusions that the two governments could accept with the full support of public opinion. There could be no easier way to reach an agreement in the perplexing question of war-debt settlement.

China Still in Struggle

Meanwhile, the two great centers of world unrest and danger continue to be Russia and China. The situation in China seems, however, to be moving towards a conclusion. The split in the Nationalist forces that had moved from the South to the Yangtze Valley resulted in the centering at Hankow of the more radical element, which is regarded as operating under the influence of Soviet propagandists from Russia. The more normal elements of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's great Southern movement have continued under the leadership of the brilliant young General Chiang Kai-shek; and it has seemed fairly probable that large elements from the West and the North, finding themselves more in sympathy with him than with the radicals at Hankow, would come together and ultimately dominate the whole situation. The steps toward this possible solution are indicated in the section devoted to China of our department immediately following these editorial notes under the standing title "The Gist of a Month's News."

Russia, an Unpleasant Neighbor

As for the major situations in which Russia is involved, we are glad to refer our readers to Mr. Simonds' article in our present number. Not to be on a normal basis of trade relations with the vast geographical and economic entity known as Russia was excessively difficult for other European countries in the first years after the end of the war. Although heartily disliking the Soviet leadership and all its ways and works, the reputable statesmen of European countries felt it necessary to accept the Moscow regime as a Government in fact, and to resume business relations because export and import markets so demanded. Germany was simply obliged to find a trade outlet in Russia, and England saw no way to avoid resumption of diplomatic and commercial relations. But several weeks ago the British Government, using the police agency of Scotland Yard, made a sensational raid upon the Soviet's commercial headquarters in London and seized quantities of books and papers. Claiming that Russia was violating the understanding that subversive propaganda should not be carried on, England completely broke off relations and sent the diplomats and trade agents of the Soviet back to Moscow.

What May Result

The bearings of all this highly sensational situation are carefully reviewed and analyzed by Mr. Simonds. It is far more likely that Sovietism will break down in Russia than that it will prove a seriously disturbing influence in more normal and conservative countries. As evidence of this opinion, we may note the fact that the Soviet authorities have now resumed the drastic persecution of everyone in Russia who is suspected of being out of sympathy with the present communistic autocracy. This is a sign of growing alarm, rather than of strength and assurance. Many summary executions have been reported within the past month. Sovietism has apparently been far more ruthless and bloodthirsty in the pursuit of its supposed enemies than was Czarism at its worst moments.

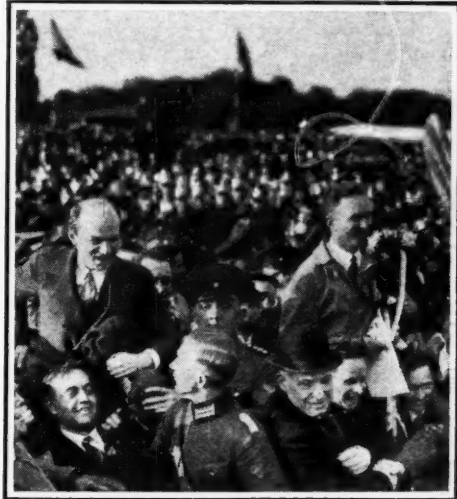
England in India

The British Government is naturally concerned when it realizes that Russian influences have sought to foment trouble in India, while the chief object of the Russian propaganda in China has apparently been

to break down the immense British interests that had been built up through a long period of commercial enterprise and investment. Those who feel justified in holding an unfriendly view of the British position in the Far East are as a rule quite unaware of the facts that justify British policies. The administrative and economic history of India, under the last half century of British direction and management, cannot be understood without something more than superficial study. The guidance and the help of the British authorities in relieving congestion in over-populated districts; in draining and opening to settlement under-populated areas; and in meeting recurring crises of famine, of drought and of flood, have been of inestimable value to the people of India. British undertakings in India have not been less in the aggregate than those great internal movements that have created the new States of our Union in which President Coolidge now finds himself, together with our larger economic projects such as that now on foot for controlling the flood movements in the Mississippi Valley.

Irish Politics Again

The Irish Free State has been holding an election under its proportional representation system, with a number of parties in the field. The De Valera opponents of the treaty with England have shown up strongly, but they have won somewhat less than one-third of the total number of seats in the new Parliament at Dublin. It has hitherto been the policy of the De Valera "Republicans," as they call themselves, not to take their seats when elected, because this would necessitate the oath of allegiance to King George. This silent opposition will number 44 members. Of those actually sitting, the supporters of the Cosgrave Government will have much the largest bloc, 46 of them having been successful in the recent elections. There are also 22 Labor members, 11 Farmers, 14 Independents, and 8 National League followers of Mr. Redmond. The members of the minor parties are all supporters of the treaty which gives Ireland the same position as regards Great Britain that is held by Canada. Our neighbors across the boundary line meanwhile go forward prosperously. Canadians carry on their institutions in a way that strengthens the confidence of all observers in the possibilities of democratic government.



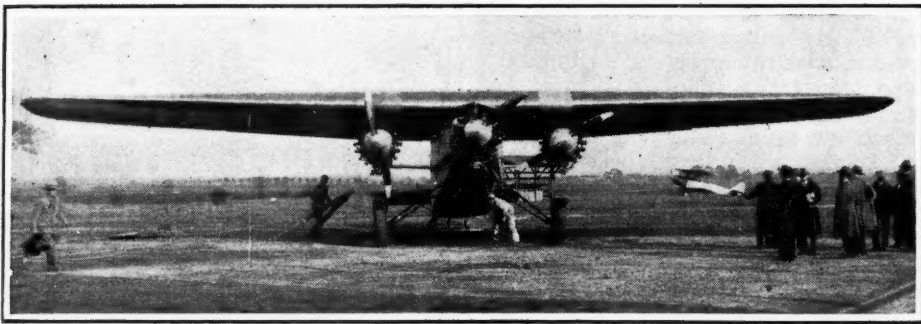
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THE FIRST AMERICAN AIRPLANE FLIGHT TO GERMANY

(Clarence Chamberlain, the pilot, is at the right, carried by enthusiastic Berlin admirers, and his financial backer, Mr. Levine, is at the left)

Treaties for Ending War

Among the best of recent suggestions is that of Aristide Briand, French Foreign Minister, regarding a permanent treaty between France and the United States that would definitely provide for the settlement of all questions by peaceful methods. Existing means for such adjustments were well described in our article by Professor Meyer in the June issue. To adopt this French suggestion would have moral weight and would be in accord with a sentiment that prevails in both countries. Following the Briand proposal, there was issued from Columbia University, with the approval of President Butler and under the expert draftsmanship of Professors Shotwell and Chamberlain, a form treaty embodying Locarno principles, and carrying the French suggestion to the point of a working draft of agreement. The American Foundation at about the same time made public its own plan of a proposed general treaty for the pacific settlement of international disputes. There will be ample time in the future to compare and discuss these drafts. The Shotwell plan is more practical in view of existing conditions, while that of the American Foundation is more far-reaching in its aims and conceptions. We shall revert to these proposals in the early future, as inspiring hope and as worthy of the attention of all intelligent men and women.



THE HUGE TRIPLE-MOTORED FOKKER MONOPLANE OF COMMANDER BYRD

(Delayed by a slight accident to his machine, and by a broken wrist, Commander Richard E. Byrd in the middle of June announced his readiness to attempt a European flight. It was understood that he would make his performance notable by crossing the Atlantic and then immediately attempting a return voyage as well)

*Has Aviation
a Real
Future?* After the brilliantly earned glories that have been showered on Colonel Lindbergh, borne so modestly and tactfully by this charming and youthful hero, thousands of level-headed citizens are asking themselves just what significance his transatlantic flight, and Chamberlin's, have, other than as heroic efforts. There is much discussion of regular aerial traffic across the oceans; of landing platforms anchored in the waste of waters, and of business enterprises to be begun immediately for the air transportation of passengers from America to Europe. Is there anything real and imminent in all this? To present to readers of this magazine the two opposing convictions, there is printed in this issue a review of the anonymous volume recently published in America and England under the title, "The Great Delusion," which sets out to prove that there are no important developments to be hoped for in man's flying—either commercial or military. The volume, which is given some extrinsic importance by the discussion it aroused in England, in the press and the House of Commons, furnishes the extreme view of skeptics. Answering its destructive contentions is a second article by Major Lester B. Gardner, publisher of *Aviation* and formerly of the Army Air Service.

*Europe Ahead
of Us in
the Air* It is even easier for Americans to have these doubts as to the ultimate practical value of the new achievement of the human race—flying—than for Europeans. We beat them in crossing the ocean, and no one doubts that when we set ourselves to it America will be a leader and not a laggard in the

development and use of the flying machine. But up to the present the European has had before his eyes much more of practical use of airplanes than we in America can boast. One of the reasons for this is the smaller distances to be covered in Europe to connect the great cities. Germany is the leader, to date, in making practical use of airplanes. The *Lufthansa*, bearing something of the same sort of relation to aviation that our Radio Corporation of America bears to radio, but in addition receiving twenty-six million marks a year in subsidies from the National Government and from various cities, has brought all the air lines under one competent management. It carries passengers at rates not greater than first-class railway fares. A tourist or business man may go from one to another of thirty cities with just about the regularity and certainty of railroad travel. The time tables provide connections for the capitals of other countries—Paris, London, Moscow, etc. One travels by night as well as day, with sleepers, smoking compartments and dining-rooms. The author of "The Great Delusion" would say: "Yes, but this is a matter of government subsidy; if that were divided among the passengers and added to the tariffs, the whole thing would show an impracticably expensive method of transportation." The managers of the *Lufthansa* would retort: "That may be at present, but in about five years we shall do without any subsidy and show a profit."

*Trans-Oceanic
Service in
Five Years?* The designers of airplanes are, meanwhile, prophesying there will be regular transatlantic passenger service by airplane within five years. They say that the ocean is to-day

no more an obstacle than the English Channel was to Blériot in 1909. The designer of the *Columbia*, the plane which carried Chamberlin and Levine from Long Island to Germany, has recently made a striking forecast of the details of coming air travel across the Atlantic. He predicts that the route will be from New York to Newfoundland, 1,100 miles, where the passengers will change to another plane with a new pilot and navigator, who will carry them to the Azores, about 1,400 miles; changing again there, the final hop will be only 900 to 1,200 miles, according to the European city that is the destination. This engineer sees each of these three intervals traversed by pilots and navigators who are experts in the meteorology and geography of their section of the journey. The plane would carry, say, forty persons, of whom thirty-four would be passengers, one pilot, one navigator, two engineers, a cook, and a porter. Bellanca's plane would weigh six tons and would carry nearly as much weight of gasoline. The whole business load—with thirty pounds of luggage to the passenger, would weigh fifteen tons. Such a plane can be built now for about \$100,000. It would be a winged boat, with a width over all of 130 feet.

*The Pullman
Airplane*

Mr. Bellanca's plane would take passengers from New York to Europe in two days and a night, with every comfort of a luxurious Pullman car. The passenger saloon would be as soundproof as possible, but already the engineers have muffled the airplane engine's exhaust and there would be only the ineradicable roar of the propellers, driven by engines of 2,000 horse power at 1,300 revolutions per minute. The average fare would be, say, \$500, with each passenger paying according to his weight, so much per pound. The navigator, a seasoned expert and specialist in the meteorology of his section, would take the ship far out of his course, hundreds of miles, if necessary, to avoid fogs and electric storms, and would climb to 18,000 feet or more to avoid bad conditions nearer the earth. Such are the promises of an airplane expert for the next few years. For the longer future one hears suggestions of traveling many miles up, where the air resistance is but a fraction of that near the earth, and carrying passengers in hermetically sealed saloons, supplied with oxygen.

*A Treasury
Surplus of
\$600,000,000*

Just before turning to welcome Colonel Lindbergh, President Coolidge spoke on the nation's finances at the meeting of the Business Organization of the Government, where he and General Lord, Director of the Budget, by well-timed praises, cajoleries and warnings, stimulate the grinding work of holding down expenses in the vastest business the human race has ever engaged in—the business of running the Government of the United States. If any citizen whose taxes have been reduced, or who thinks they should be reduced, imagines that these matters are accomplished easily and without elaborate planning, he should look into the actual working of the job which the President and the Director of the Budget have on their hands. They have done such notable things in their campaign of economy, things which have anything but the glamor of a pioneer trans-Atlantic airplane flight but which are not much easier, that we have come to expect them as a matter of course, and to forget that they mean unremitting concentration and drive. The surplus for the fiscal year just ended reached approximately \$600,000,000, all of which will have gone to the reduction of the national debt. The President drew attention to the fact that the debt reduction this year, together with refunding operations, will result in a saving of no less than \$63,000,000 per annum in interest payments.

*Chances for
Tax
Reductions*

This great current surplus has, then, been used to pay off our debts. The Administration's estimate of next year's surplus—for the year ending June 30, 1928—is \$338,000,000, and already speculation has begun as to how much of this can be used to reduce taxes and as to what taxes they shall be. "One thing is certain," said the President, on June 10, "unless we succeed in holding expenditures at about their present level, hope of further tax reduction will be gone." With this in mind the Administration has fixed the maximum limit of appropriations for next year at \$3,300,000,000, exclusive of debt reductions, postal service and tax refunds. Last year the budget was \$3,200,000,000. The President is anxious that the nation should not make the mistake of taking the current year's surplus—the largest we have ever had—as a matter of course that can be counted on in the future. Back income taxes left a net gain to the

Government of \$162,000,000. This will constantly get smaller. Farm Loan bonds and other temporary items accounted for \$63,000,000. Railroad receipts gave \$90,000,000, and these will not be substantial after 1929. Furthermore, of the estimated surplus for next year, \$133,000,000 will consist of sales of capital assets, soon to be exhausted. The President's point is that any wise revenue law will regard a term of years to come rather than our present abnormal opulence.

*Sending Our
Motor Cars
Abroad*

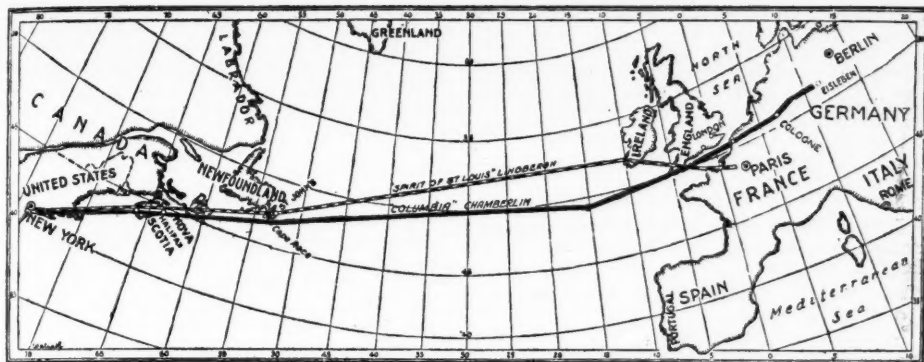
It is obvious that the most important factor in the continuance of our Treasury surpluses is the general prosperity of the country, which has continued now for so long a time and at heights no one thought could be maintained for such a period. And one of the vital factors in this prosperity is the fortune of the motor car industry. Few people thought that the year 1927 would come so close as it has toward fulfilling the predictions of the automobile men themselves. In the value of motor cars turned out, this year is but little if any behind the astonishing prosperity of 1926. Competition has, however, become intensely keen. In this magazine there is a brief article by Mr. J. G. Frederick which tells of the revolutionary move Mr. Ford has been forced to make in order to meet the rivalry of the General Motors Company. An important phase of the present situation in the motor car industry is the increase in export business. The United States has more than four-fifths of all the automobiles running in the world. This leaves a vast field for export sales by our manufacturers. As late as 1918, however, only 3.9 per cent. of the passenger cars produced in the United States were exported and 4.5 per cent. of the trucks. The movement has consistently increased until, in 1926, 238,000 cars and 67,000 trucks were exported, 6.3 and 14.6 per cent., respectively, of the total American production. The trend is most striking this year, the first quarter reports 9.1 per cent. of passenger cars and 21.1 per cent. of trucks sent abroad. South America is a big field for our automobiles—only limited by the lack of suitable roads, which are now being built at a great rate. In March of last year 3,613 cars were sent to Argentina and Brazil, while the same month in 1927 shows exports of 16,225.

*A Poor Year
for Crops*

It is being said that the rains causing the record-breaking Mississippi floods caused more damage in dollars where they fell on the uplands than where they produced the great inundations below Cairo. The raw and wet weather of April and May has made the farming season nearly two weeks late in the middle and upper part of the Mississippi watershed; the outlook is poor for a wheat crop; very bad indeed, for corn. Secretary Jardine, of the Department of Agriculture, returned from the West on June 9 and reported that previous estimates of the wheat crop must be cut by 33,000,000 bushels. The late season kept back the planting of corn seriously, but some of this may be made up. These influences have brought about an advance of about 20 cents a bushel for corn and 8 cents for oats, so that the farmer himself may not be so badly off this season if Governor Lowden is correct, in his argument in this issue of the REVIEW, that it is the big crop with a surplus and low prices that hurts the producer most.

*Fewer Horses,
More Grain*

A factor of primary importance in the movement of grain prices is the loss of consumption power resulting from the displacement of farm horses by tractors and other machinery. Some see it as an unfortunate thing for the farmer that there should be about 5,000,000 fewer horses in the country in 1925 than there were in 1920—a rather startling reduction of something like 25 per cent. in five years. There is lost the demand for corn and oats and the farms have not the benefit of the manure. Mr. George E. Roberts, in his National City Bank Bulletin, takes the opposite view—as do many others, who point to the tractor cultivator capable of doing thirty acres of corn in a day, with only one man's labor, to the extraordinary cheapening of the cost of harvesting wheat resulting from the use of the "combine" (harvester and thresher in one), and to the aid mechanical improvements have given the farmer who must concentrate his work in a short period of time, owing to unpropitious weather. In June, 1920, there were 229,000 tractors on the farms; in 1925, 475,000. Mr. Roberts is not frightened by the decrease, last year, of 694,000 in farming population, seeing it as an evidence that mechanical aids are enabling the farmer to produce at lower cost and with less labor.



THE "NEW TRADE ROUTE TO THE EAST"

(The first reaction to the flight of Colonel Lindbergh, after his joyous welcome at Paris, was a flood of opinion as to the feasibility of a transatlantic air-mail and passenger service)

THE GIST OF A MONTH'S NEWS

FROM MAY 15 TO JUNE 16, 1927

AVIATION COMES TO THE FORE

May 15.—The Army Air Corps starts a defense problem called the "Battle of San Antonio" to work out aviation tactics in war.

May 16.—Capt. Hawthorne C. Gray, U. S. A., Air Service, is officially announced to have broken all records for height in a balloon on May 4 at Scott Field, Ill., attaining 42,470 feet, or 12,944 meters.

May 20.—Capt. Charles A. Lindbergh flies alone across the Atlantic in the Ryan NX211 monoplane *Spirit of St. Louis*, with single motor, from New York to Paris in 33½ hours, a distance of 3,610 miles, guided only by an earth inductor compass; the flight started from San Diego, Calif., with stops at St. Louis and New York. (This is the second non-stop transatlantic flight by airplane, the first having been by Alcock and Brown on June 14, 1919). (See page 35.)

May 25.—James D. Dole, of San Francisco, offers \$25,000 for the first and \$10,000 for the second non-stop flight from the Pacific Coast to Hawaii.

Lieut. James A. Doolittle performs the outside loop strapped in an airplane at Dayton, Ohio—the first man to do it, and live.

May 29.—Air Secretary MacCracken reports at Washington, D. C., the lighting of 1386 miles of airways, establishment of 45 intermediate fields, 109 beacons, and 73 blinker lights between municipal air ports.

June 1.—Ward T. Van Orman and W. W. Morton win the national balloon race at Akron, Ohio, landing near Bar Harbor, Me., a distance of 715 miles.

June 4-6.—The Bellanca monoplane *Columbia*, piloted by Clarence Chamberlin, with Charles Levine as the first transatlantic passenger, carries 250 pieces of mail from New York to Berlin, stopping at Helfta, near Eisleben, Saxony, after 43 hours of continuous flight over 3905 miles; taking on gasoline at Helfta, they crash at Kottbus, having flown 48 hours, and proceed later to Berlin with repaired propeller.

June 9.—A carefully planned airplane search is

begun in Newfoundland for the missing French aviators, Captains Nungesser and Coli; it is conducted by F. Sidney Cotton, financed by American business men.

June 11.—Colonel Lindbergh returns in triumph to Washington, where President Coolidge decorates him with the Distinguished Flying Cross.

June 13.—At New York, Colonel Lindbergh receives the greatest public demonstration—by land, air, and water—ever accorded to any individual; he receives his fifteenth medal.

June 16.—Com. Francesco de Pinedo lands at Ostia, near Rome, completing his 25,000 mile four-continent seaplane flight begun February 13.

THE GREAT FLOOD

May 15.—At Simmesport, La., 1300 persons are rescued by scores of boats from the Atchafalaya flooded region, where fertile lands were devoted to sugar cane, rice, cotton and oranges; the parishes of Avoyelles, St. Landry, St. Martin, Iberia and St. Mary are ordered evacuated.

May 18.—John M. Parker, Director of Flood Relief for Louisiana, warns the people of Port Barre, Hazelwood, Avondale, Huron, Loreauville, Cecelia and other Louisiana towns to flee for their lives; the main levee at New Roads, on the Mississippi, breaks; the Texas & Pacific bridge over the Atchafalaya goes down, cutting off rail rescue.

May 24.—In Louisiana, the McCrea dike bursts, and Pointe Coupee parish, in which there are 140,000 people and 3,000,000 acres, is flooded.

May 28.—Secretary Hoover goes to the country by radio in an appeal for \$2,000,000 more for the Red Cross (about \$14,000,000 has been raised).

May 30.—The flood is officially announced to be definitely receding.

June 2.—At Chicago, a conference is held on flood control, under the auspices of the mayors of Chicago, New Orleans, and St. Louis, with over 1500 delegates attending.

CHINESE AFFAIRS

May 15.—Gen. Chiang Kai-shek announces an advance against the North China forces of Chang Tsung-chang along the Tientsin-Pukow Railway; Wang Pah-chuan becomes Nationalist Minister of Commerce (there are now three Cabinet Ministers at Nanking and a Finance Minister at Canton).

May 16.—Gen. Feng Yu-hsiang captures Loyang (Honanfu) and Gen. Wu Pei-fu leaves Gungsen for Nanyang, in retreat.

May 17.—Martial law is declared at Hankow, where somewhat chaotic conditions prevail.

Basil Newton is withdrawn as British representative at Hankow, Communist center under Eugene Chen.

May 28.—Japan orders 6,000 troops to Shantung, China, and 2,000 to Tsing-tao.

May 27-30.—Gen. Feng Yu-hsiang captures Hung-hsien for the Hankow Southerners after a battle on Honan plain; Chiang Kai-shek drives northward from Nanking through Anhwei Province toward Tientsin; the Wu Pei-fu troops between Gens. Feng and Yang Sen declare for the South, thus making untenable the position of Northerners below the Yellow River.

June 2.—The U. S. Transport *Henderson* leaves Shanghai for Tientsin with a regiment each of artillery and marines, under Gen. Smedley D. Butler.

June 14.—Hankow Southerners are reported in retreat south of the Yellow River, with over 11,000 wounded already at the communist capital; conferences have been held within the past week between generals from Nanking, Peking, and Shantung.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

May 14.—Gov. Fred W. Green signs the Michigan Code of Criminal Procedure, which thoroughly revises the anti-crime statutes of the State.

May 15.—Flor Intrencherado, self-proclaimed "Emperor of the Philippines" at Jaro, near Iloilo, is ordered committed to an asylum as insane.

The Army-Navy joint manoeuvres are begun at Newport, R. I., with a problem for landing an enemy force of 75,000 from the fleet in Narragansett Bay.

May 16.—Mayor Wm. A. Gunter is reelected by Alabama voters in Montgomery municipal elections, defeating J. Johnson Moore, Klan candidate.

Bootleggers must make income tax returns on their earnings, it is held, in the case of *U. S. vs. Sullivan*.

May 17.—President Coolidge addresses the American Medical Association at Washington, D. C.

May 20.—Harry F. Sinclair is sentenced to serve three months in jail and is fined \$500 for contempt of a Senate investigating committee inquiring into naval reserve oil leases.

Gen. Lincoln C. Andrews resigns as Assistant Secretary of Treasury in charge of prohibition enforcement, effective August 1; his successor will be Seymour W. Lowman (N. Y.); Dr. James M. Doran will succeed Roy A. Haynes, acting commissioner of Prohibition, effective at once.

May 23.—New York Transit Commission holds public hearings on a transit readjustment plan.

May 25.—The Illinois Senate passes a bill (30 to

17) to impose a State income tax; it must be ratified by referendum in November, 1928.

May 26.—The New York Board of Estimate passes unanimously a bill to exempt from taxation for twenty years all tenements erected by limited dividend companies to end slums.

May 28.—General Leonard Wood leaves Manila for a vacation.

May 30.—President Coolidge, in his Memorial Day address at Arlington National Cemetery, says that the American people "wish to discard the element of force and compulsion in international agreements and conduct, and rely on reason and law."

June 1.—Governor Fuller of Massachusetts appoints an advisory commission in his investigation of the Sacco-Vanzetti case, now up for executive clemency; the committee is composed of former Judge Robert Grant, President Abbott Lawrence Lowell of Harvard, and President Stratton of Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

June 4.—The U. S. Fleet is reviewed by President Coolidge; it is the greatest concentration of naval power ever witnessed by an American President.

The \$1,025,000 suit of Illinois against Governor Len Small for taxes alleged withheld when Small was State Treasurer is ended by agreement; Small will pay \$650,000 and costs to the State and the Governor will be absolved from charges of malfeasance.

June 6.—The Supreme Court exonerates the International Harvester Company from charges of violating the anti-trust laws.

June 13.—President and Mrs. Coolidge leave Washington for a vacation in the Black Hills, South Dakota (see page 6).

June 14.—President Coolidge makes a notable speech at North Township, near Hammond, Indiana; many thousands of people greet him cordially along the route.

FOREIGN POLITICAL NOTES

May 15.—At Naples, Italy, King Victor Emmanuel arrives to inaugurate excavations of Herculaneum, long ago buried by volcanic eruption of Vesuvius. (Naples itself has been repaved and improved.)

May 16.—Quebec elections result in victory for the Liberal Government headed by Premier Taschereau, the Conservatives winning only eleven seats out of eighty-five.

May 17.—The Reichstag votes 323 to 41 in favor of a bill prolonging the Protection of the Republic Law, thus extending the Kaiser's exile two years more.

May 18.—Mexico renews observance of the Aztec New Year day for the first time in 408 years.

May 19.—Mgr. Ignatz Seipel, reelected Chancellor of Austria a fourth time, declares for union with Germany in opening the new Parliament.

May 21.—Dr. Juan B. Sacasa leaves Nicaragua for Guatemala with his unsuccessful Liberal revolutionary cabinet.

May 27.—Prof. Thomas G. Masaryk is reelected President of Czechoslovakia for a third term, receiving 274 of the 434 votes cast.

May 29.—Premier Mastofiol Mamelek's Persian Cabinet resigns.

May 30.—The Bulgarian parliamentary elections to fill 273 seats in the Sobranje result in victory for Premier Liapcheff, whose Government wins 190 seats (estimated).

June 1.—The Ontario prohibition regime comes to an end after eleven years.

The Greek Chamber of Deputies passes a new national Constitution.

Viscount Korekiyo Takahashi resigns as Japanese Finance Minister and is at once succeeded by Chuzo Mitsuchi.

June 4.—Premier Averescu (pro-Italian) resigns under pressure from Jonel Bratiano (anti-Carol); his successor will be Prince Barbu Stirbey.

June 6.—Premier Prince Stirbey dissolves the Rumanian Parliament and calls elections for July 7; the press censorship is removed.

June 7.—British coöperatives vote 1960 to 1843 to make a formal alliance with the Labor Party; the Coöperative societies have a membership of 5,000,000 (mostly women) and turn over a business of \$1,500,000,000 a year; 700 out of 1,300 societies were not represented, although the vote is considered fairly expressive of opinion.

June 9.—The Irish Free State elections are held under the proportional representation plan; out of 152 seats, the Government headed by President Cosgrave wins 46, Labor 22, the DeValera party 44, Independents 15, Farmers 8, and the rest are scattered.

June 14.—Over a hundred persons are summarily executed in Soviet Russia and more than 1,000 are deported to Siberia; foreigners leave Moscow; rigid censorship prevails, and military preparations are begun.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

May 19.—The Interstate Commerce Commission rejects because of faulty financing L. F. Loree's plan for a merger of the Missouri-Kansas-Texas R. R. Co., and the Kansas City Southern, with total track mileage of 5,801 and \$506,000,000 capitalization (short lines would be left in weakened position and minority interests of merged roads were not safeguarded).

May 23.—The World Economic Conference ends at Geneva in agreement on a report of economic conditions throughout the world.

May 24.—Development of a new colorimeter is announced at Cambridge, Mass., by Prof. Arthur C. Hardy and Frederick W. Cunningham; it eliminates all human skill and enables perfect matching of color through automatic record.

May 25.—The Foreign Trade Council holds its fourteenth annual session, at Detroit.

May 30.—Secretary Mellon offers to exchange at par Treasury bonds bearing 3½ per cent. for Second Liberty Loan bonds of which there are \$1,697,337,050 outstanding (the Treasury 3½'s mature in 1947 and are callable in 1943, and the Second Liberties bear 4¼ per cent. and are called for redemption November 15); \$200,000,000 of the Treasury issue are offered for cash at 50 cents premium.

June 1.—Count Volpi announces his policy as Italian Finance Minister; he will stabilize the lira at present value until autumn, when it is expected internal prices and production costs may fall in



THE GREAT HIGHWAY BRIDGE ACROSS MOBILE BAY, DEDICATED ON JUNE 14

(Under the leadership of Mayor Harry T. Hartwell of Mobile, with the cooperation of the municipal government and civic bodies, the Cochrane Bridge and Causeway, more than ten miles long, has been completed as the most striking feature of the great highway, known as the Spanish Trail, stretching from Jacksonville across northern Florida to Pensacola and thence to New Orleans and the western coast. The so-called Riviera Highway is to follow the Gulf coastline more closely and will rival the Spanish Trail in interest and importance. Skirting the eastern shore of Mobile Bay, it will also utilize the Cochrane Bridge.)

proportion to the fall of exchange (prices, wages, and fees have been reduced by concerted effort).

June 10.—President Coolidge delivers his budget address, hoping for further tax reduction (Secretary Mellon has estimated the current surplus at \$600,000,000 and the President figures on \$338,000,000 for the year beginning July 1).

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

May 16.—President Doumergue of France visits London for three days with M. Briand, his Foreign Minister; they are received in state.

May 17.—The Russian Soviet Government sends a note of protest to the British in connection with the raid on Arcos, Ltd., Russian trade headquarters at London.

May 18.—Henry L. Stimson, arriving at Panama City, reports that the Nicaraguan civil war is over, both sides having turned over their arms to American officers.

The Angora Government approves Joseph Clark Grew as American Ambassador to Turkey.

May 19.—The Hungarian Parliament ratifies the treaty of freedom with Italy.

May 24.—In the House of Commons, Premier Baldwin announces the complete rupture of diplomatic and trade relations with Russia, declaring that subversive propaganda, military espionage, and revolutionary plots against Britain, the United States, and Mexico had been directed from Soviet House; the legitimate use of Arcos, Ltd., is permitted to continue for trade purposes only.

At the naval limitation conference at Geneva, June 20, Rear Admiral Hilary P. Jones will be an American delegate and Hugh Gibson will be chairman; Premier Baldwin announces that W. C. Bridgman, Viscount Cecil, and Vice Admiral Sir Frederick Field will be the British delegates (the Japanese delegation is headed by Admiral Viscount Makoto Saito).

May 29.—Secretary of State Kellogg transmits a note to Vincent Massey, Canadian Minister to Washington, placing non-native-born Canadians under the American quota system applicable to their native countries.

May 30.—In Memorial Day services at New York, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler and Dr. James T. Shotwell propose a model treaty between the United States and other great powers outlawing war and substituting arbitration and conciliation.

Britain sends two warships to Egypt, where Cairo authorities are trying to rid the army of British influence.

June 1.—On the Niagara River, between Buffalo and Fort Erie, Ont., a new Peace Bridge is opened to vehicular traffic; the structure cost \$4,500,000.

Lawrence Dennis, recently Secretary of American Legation at Managua, Nicaragua, resigns from the diplomatic service, effective June 15.

William Phillips, first American Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Canada, is welcomed at Ottawa by Premier Mackenzie King and a group of high officials.

June 2.—Baron Emeile de Cartier de Marchienne is recalled as first Belgian Ambassador to the United States, to become Ambassador to Great Britain; he sails on June 26; Prince Albert Edward Eugene La Morale de Ligne will be his successor.

June 3.—The Chilean Cabinet designates former President Emilio Figueroa-Larrain as delegate to Geneva at the League of Nations.

June 6.—Albania presents a brief to the League of Nations, explaining the controversy with Yugoslavia arising out of the arrest of an employee of the Yugoslav Legation; diplomatic relations were broken by Yugoslavia, but Albania claims that M. Gjorackovitch was arrested as a spy.

June 7.—Peter Voikoff, Russian Soviet Minister to Poland, is assassinated by Boris Korenko, a Russian monarchist student, at Warsaw.

Ambassador James R. Sheffield sails from Mexico on vacation, taking Mrs. Sheffield and his furniture.

June 8.—The British Empire delegations to the Naval Disarmament Conference at Geneva are officially announced; they are headed by W. C. Bridgman (Brit. and India); E. A. Laponte (Canada), Sir Joseph Cook (Australia), Sir James Parr (New Zealand), J. S. Smit (South Africa), Desmond Fitzgerald (Irish Free State).

June 11.—Secretary Kellogg authorizes Ambassador Herrick to discuss a possible Franco-American agreement along the lines suggested by Briand on April 6 and informally taken up with American authorities June 2.

American armed forces are ordered withdrawn from Nicaragua.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

May 15.—The liquor expenditure of Great Britain is reported as £301,300,000 (about \$1,500,000,000) for 1926, as against £315,000,000 in 1925 (the amount is over one-third of the British budget

and ten times greater than the annual payment on war debt to the United States).

It is announced that the Holland Tunnel under the Hudson River between New York and New Jersey will be opened about September 1.

The seventh annual session of the Institute of Politics is announced at Williamstown, Mass., from July 28 to August 25.

May 17.—The seventh national conference on State Parks is opened at Bear Mountain, Palisades Interstate Park.

May 18.—The American Medical Association acts to favor legislation removing present restrictions on prescriptions of alcoholic beverages.

The Y. M. C. A. raises \$4,039,618 in a ten-day building fund campaign at New York.

May 19.—Dr. Emil Bogen, of Cincinnati, tells the American Medical Association results of elaborate studies in the scientific determination of intoxication.

May 21.—Northeast of San Francisco, an \$8,000,000 bridge is opened across Carquinez Strait; it is over a mile long.

May 22.—At Yankee Stadium, New York, 75,000 members of the Holy Name Society worship God.

May 23.—Arturo Toscanini is engaged to conduct the New York Philharmonic Society for five years.

May 25.—Dr. Ozora Stearns Davis, president of Chicago Theological Seminary, is chosen as Moderator of the National Council of Congregational Churches of the United States, at Omaha.

May 26.—The Harvard-Michigan-Sinai expedition brings to Cairo Museum fragments of Sinai inscriptions originally found by Sir Flinders Petrie.

The Rev. Dr. David G. Wylie is chosen as president of the Lord's Day Alliance of the United States.

It is announced that John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has given \$1,600,000 for finishing restoration of French national monuments injured in the war. . . . The Cathedral of Rheims is rededicated.

Dr. Robert E. Speer is elected Moderator of the Presbyterian Church for one year by the General Assembly at San Francisco.

May 27.—Miss Dorothy Carlson, of Salt Lake City, wins the national oratorical contest at Washington, D. C., and will represent the United States in an international contest October 14.

June 1.—Homer Fay Pfeiffer, of Yale, wins the Prix de Rome Fellowship in Architecture for 1927.

June 8.—Arthur Sapp is elected president of the Rotary International at the annual meeting in Ostend; the next convention will be at Minneapolis.

OBITUARY

May 15.—Alvah P. French, journalist and historian, 60. . . . Prof. William Woolsey Johnson, Annapolis mathematician, 85. . . . Charles Mayer, elephant trapper, 64.

May 16.—Dr. Charles Walthall Morrison, head of Oberlin Conservatory of Music, 70. . . . William Van Duzer Lawrence, civic leader of New York, 85.

May 17.—Barbour Lathrop, San Francisco botanist, 80. . . . Rev. Dr. Daniel J. Connor, Scranton priest and translator, 46.

May 18.—Sam Bernard, comedian, 63. . . . Maurice Oscar Louis Mouvet, dancer, 38. . . . Dr. John Mahan English, of Newton (Mass.) Theological Institution, 81.

May 19.—Dr. Joseph Swain, president emeritus of Swarthmore College, 69.

May 20.—Anton T. Kliegl, stage light inventor, 54. . . . Bishop John Joseph O'Connor, of Roman Catholic Diocese of Newark, N. J., 71. . . . Alonzo Brown, Philadelphia educator, 77.

May 21.—Frederick Mather Waterman, treasurer of U. S. Steel Corporation, 55. . . . Charles Meeks Mason, organizer of New Jersey Law School, 51. . . . Prof. Hugh Edward Egerton, Oxford authority on British colonial history, 72.

May 22.—Robert T. Small, journalist, of Washington, D. C., 49.

May 23.—Henry Edwards Huntington, of Los Angeles, noted railroad director, and book and art collector, 77. . . . Edwin Hale, Cleveland chemist, perfecter of zinc electrolytic extraction process, 50.

May 24.—Dr. Frank W. Woodbury, Philadelphia medical writer and editor, 78. . . . Franklin Day Locke, Buffalo banker, 83. . . . Albert E. Wood, journalist, 70. . . . Axel Roswell, Philadelphia naval architect, 61. . . . Judge John A. Caldwell, of the Ohio Bench, 75.

May 25.—Payne Whitney, sportsman, 51. . . . Frederick Melville Du Mond, noted landscape painter, of California, 60. . . . Walter Warren Magee, Representative in Congress from New York, 66.

May 26.—Rev. Francis Edward Clark, D. D., founder of the Christian Endeavor, 75. . . . James Stetson Metcalfe, dramatic critic, 68. . . . Prof. Ernest Albee, Cornell philosopher, 61. . . . Lucien Gates Chaffin, organist and composer, 82.

May 27.—Sir John Stephen Willison, noted Canadian journalist, 70. . . . Gen. Hermann von Stein, German militarist, 73.

May 28.—Judge John Everett Keeler, Connecticut jurist, 71. . . . Charles MacPherson, London organist, 57.

May 29.—Herbert Wolcott Bowen, former diplomat, of Connecticut, 71. . . . Col. E. B. Cope, superintendent of Gettysburg National Park, 92. . . . Henry J. Skeffington, former New England Immigration Commissioner, 69. . . . Rear Adm. Pedro Garezon, Peruvian hero of Battle of Angamos.

May 30.—Mrs. Susan Whitcomb Hassell, author and educator, of Everett, Wash., 71.

June 1.—John C. Butterworth, Massachusetts horticulturist, 70.

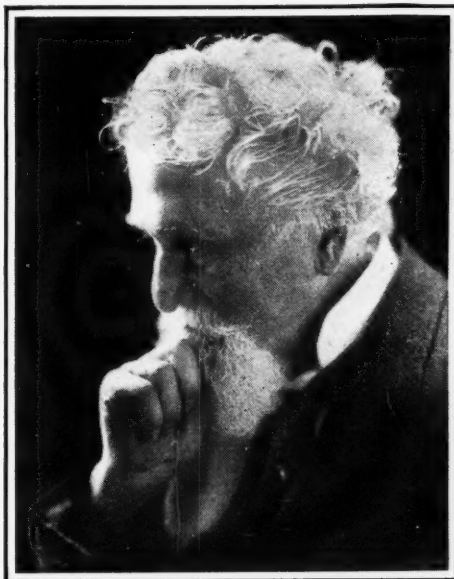
June 2.—Senora Natalia Calles, wife of the President of Mexico, 48. . . . James Rush Marshall, architect, of Washington, D. C., 76.

June 3.—Thomas E. Rush, New York Democratic politician, 60. . . . Einar Hanson, Swedish motion picture actor, 28.

June 4.—Henry Charles Keith Petty-Fitzmaurice, Marquess of Lansdowne, British statesman, 82.

June 5.—Charles Henry Morse, Boston musician, 74. . . . William R. Stansbury, chief clerk of United States Supreme Court, 71. . . . Dr. Joseph Schneider, Milwaukee oculist, 82.

June 7.—Robert Cochran Hilliard, noted actor, 70. . . . Maj. Frank Johnston Jones, Cincinnati lawyer and G. A. R. veteran, 89. . . . Thomas Wil-ling Balch, Philadelphia author and lawyer, 58. . . .



THE LATE HUDSON MAXIM

(Noted inventor of smokeless powder, who died in May at the age of seventy-four, famous for his development of high explosives)

Judge Edmund James Flynn, former Premier of Quebec, 79.

June 9.—The Very Rev. Felix Ward, noted Passionist Father, 73. . . . Moy Tong Chen, influential Chicago Chinaman, 82.

June 10.—Mrs. Victoria Clafin Woodhull Martin, noted suffragist, 88. . . . Mrs. Jeanette Thurber Connor, historian of Florida. . . . Col. James William Zevely, oil attorney, 65. . . . George Smith Patten, California Democrat, 70. . . . Ellis Newlin Williamson, editor, 64. . . . Capt. James Dalzell McKee, aviator, 42.

June 11.—Rear Admiral Hugo Osterhaus, U. S. N., retired, 76. . . . John Wesley Westcott, New Jersey Democrat, 78. . . . Louis Samuel Montagu, Baron Swaythling, noted British banker, 57. . . . Mrs. Elizabeth Hunter-Hight, old-time actress, 84.

June 12.—Dr. Lewis Duncan Mason, physician and author, of Brooklyn, N. Y., 84. . . . Dr. Charles Theodore Piderit Fennel, Cincinnati chemist, 75.

June 13.—Clarence Coles Phillips, famous illustrator, 47. . . . Brig. Gen. Charles Crook Hood, U. S. A., retired, 85.

June 14.—Guy Eastman Tripp, noted electrical executive, 62. . . . Jerome Klapka Jerome, British novelist and playwright, 68. . . . James Clarkson Gillmore, U. S. N., last Commodore, 72. . . . Foster MacGowan Voorhees, former Governor of New Jersey, 70.

THE STORY OF A MONTH IN CARTOONS



LINDBERGH'S FLIGHT

THE FRENCH MARIANNE: "Congratulations, Samuel!"

By Braakensiek, in *De Groene Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



HE FLEW INTO HER ARMS

By McCutcheon, in the *Tribune* © (Chicago, Ill.)

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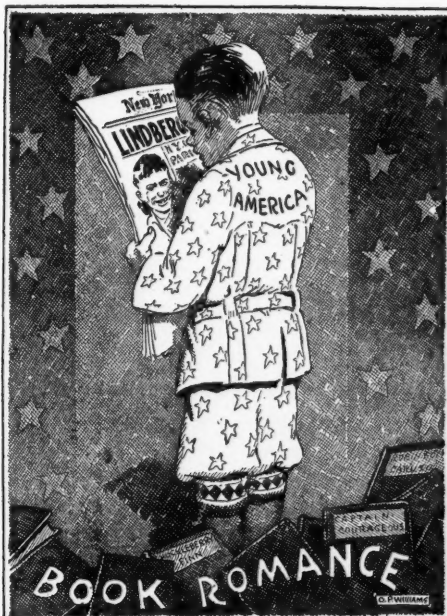


THEY TURN OUT PRETTY GOOD

By Ireland, in the *Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)



TAKING A PIECE OUT OF THE MAP

By Darling, in the *Herald Tribune* © (New York)

INSPIRATION

By Williams, in the *American* © (New York)

THE exploit of the twenty-five-year-old Lindbergh, in flying alone from America to France, inspired cartoonists everywhere. The drawing by Europe's veteran caricaturist, Braakensiek, of Holland, is typical of the feeling on the other side of the Atlantic. Here at home there has been quite a noticeable emphasis upon human aspects of the achievement, that they may serve as an inspiration and guide for the youth of the land.



WHILE WE ARE PASSING OUT DECORATIONS!

By Thiele, in the *Telegram* (Lawrence, Mass.)

YOU MAY LIVE TO DO IT

By Hanny, in the *Inquirer* © (Philadelphia, Pa.)



GLORY ENOUGH FOR ALL



SHIFTLESS ATTITUDE OF THE PAST

WE PRESENT on this page four cartoons reproduced from current issues of the *News* of Dallas, Texas, all the work of Mr. Knott. They represent a wide range of interest and activity, combining in rare measure the craftsmanship of an artist with the news sense of a journalist. The editor of the *News* and its readers are alike to be complimented; and the opportunity to give wider circulation to the intelligent, creative work of a cartoonist in interpreting current happenings constitutes one of the pleasures of publishing this magazine.



A BRIDGE WHICH NO PRESIDENT HAS EVER CROSSED



THE CONSUMER VIEWS THE OIL CRISIS WITH COMPOSURE



STILL FLOATING!

By Donahey, in the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland, Ohio)



BUT WHO WILL DO THE IRONING?

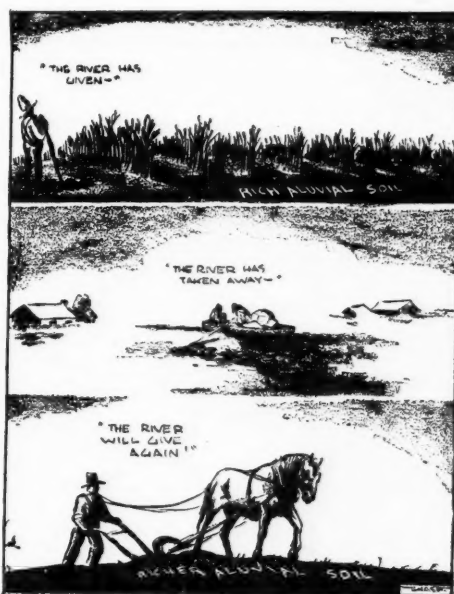
By Darling, in the *Register* (Des Moines, Iowa)



THE OIL SITUATION

By Shafer, in the *Times-Star* (Cincinnati, Ohio)

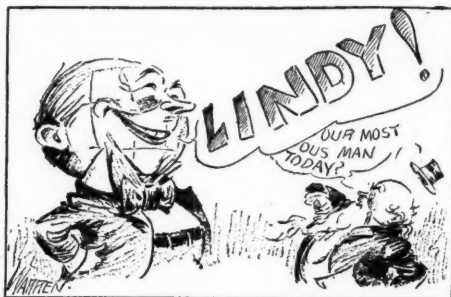
[There is a current over-production of oil, more embarrassing to the producer than to the consumer. The cartoonist suggests that some of it might be allowed to remain in the ground until needed]



THE DELTA FARMER

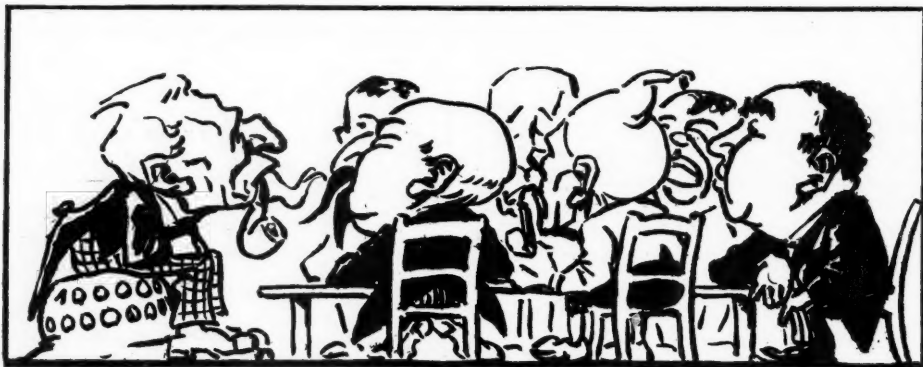
By Chase, in the *Item* (New Orleans, La.)

[The rich alluvial soil of the Mississippi Valley is a result of previous floods, and the recent disaster that damaged this year's crops may be counted upon to benefit agriculture in the years to come]



BEFORE AND AFTER THE LINDBERGH FLIGHT—WHAT A DIFFERENCE A FEW HOURS MADE

By Warren, in the *News* (Cleveland, Ohio)



UNCLE SAM'S SEAT AT THE ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

EUROPE: "If we had a chair like yours, we wouldn't need to be sitting here."

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)



"STAY HOME, FIDO!"

By Sykes, in the *Evening Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, Pa.)



THE CHINESE KNOT IN RUSSIA'S HAND

From *P'st* (Constantinople, Turkey)



THE HOUSE THAT BALDWIN BUILT!

THE MAN WHO PAYS: 'When is it going to be finished?'
 PREMIER BALDWIN: 'Don't bother; can't you see I'm doing my best!'
 From the *Daily Chronicle* (London, England)



REJECTED!

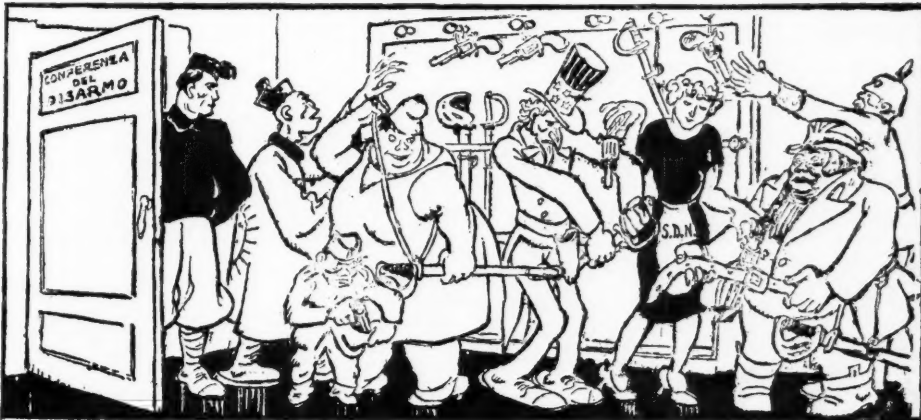
From the *Daily Express* (London, England)
 [Great Britain severs relations with Russia as a result of Communist political activity through trade agencies]



THE AMERICAN FLOOD — NO DOLLARS CAN TURN IT ASIDE

From *Notenkraaker* (Amsterdam, Holland)

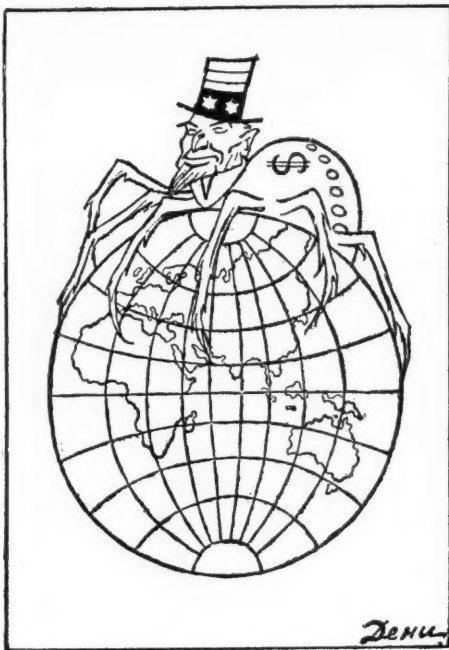
[Forlorn Uncle Sam is perched on top of a telegraph pole, much to be pitied; but even his wealth cannot aid him]



THE LEAGUE'S DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE COMES TO AN END

From *Te Vere* (Rome, Italy)

[This Italian cartoon pictures Italy as the only nation not rushing for weapons that had been checked during the negotiations. It refers to the League conference that ended in May, and not to the meeting called by President Coolidge for June]



THE AMERICAN SPIDER
From *Pravda* (Moscow, Russia)



JOHN BULL AND THE SOVIET POODLE
"I think I am better off without such friendship."
From *De Groene Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



THE NEW ANGEL OF PEACE
President Coolidge says the foreign policy of America is one of peace and good-will.
From the *Evening Times* (Glasgow, Scotland)



"COME OFF YOUR PERCH, JONATHAN!"
Mr. Coolidge's remarks on American policy in China seem to assume that other nations are not so disinterested.
From the *Bulletin* (Glasgow, Scotland)

LINDBERGH IN PARIS

BY J. J. JUSSERAND

(French Ambassador at Washington, 1902-1925)

NO ONE in private life ever received in France such ovations as were given Charles Lindbergh when, having crossed the Atlantic alone, almost unheralded, he landed at Le Bourget on the night of the 21st of May, after a non-stop voyage of 33 hours and 30 minutes. It took Rochambeau two months and ten days when he crossed with his army from Brest to Newport in 1780.

The success of the aerial navigator has continued unabated; from the President of the Republic to the humblest man in the street, the feeling is the same, and it is one of unbounded, joyful enthusiasm. Wherever he goes the applause is deafening; medals, tokens, souvenirs of all sorts are offered to him; wherever he is expected to pass people line the streets hours before.

Such a reception is unparalleled, but so is the deed; and the enthusiasm is increased by the charming personality of the youthful hero—simple, unassuming, of few words that are always to the point, with a frank smile betokening a kindness which wins every heart. No welcome was ever more spontaneous. There had been no advertising, no beating of drums, and so little preparation that not even a bed was ready for the traveler (but Ambassador Herrick, who was admirable in all he did and said, saw to that); no sufficient barriers, no adequate police forces to restrain the rush of the enthusiasts who, in the ardor of their good will made for Lindbergh's plane, as he remarked, the greatest risk in all its journey.

Enthusiasm turned to affection when people learned the next morning that, being driven to the American Embassy from Le Bourget, past the Arc de Triomphe, the new-comer noticed the flame over the tomb of the unknown soldier, and insisted on stopping and paying homage to that anonymous representation of the defence made by France in the great war. It was late at night; one hotel was, however, still open; the car drove there, Lindbergh and those with him picked up such flowers as they could,

and reverently laid them on the sacred flagstone. This was the first visit Lindbergh paid any one after his long journey; he had not yet eaten or slept.

One very striking thing illuminated the natural dispositions of the two nations. In America, anxiety for the fate of Nungesser and Coli and zeal for discovering them were as keen as if they had been Americans; in France, at the very moment when we were mourning our own sons and their failure, the joy, the sense of triumph, the enthusiasm over Lindbergh's deed were as exuberant as if he had been one of us. No son of France could have received a heartier greeting; no American could have had a sincerer one in New York than would Nungesser and Coli, had they succeeded.

The history of the conquest of the air tells an extraordinary tale of the intertwining of the success, the efforts and progress of the French and the Americans. Each in his turn, moved one step forward. All know the amazement which seized the world when the first *montgolfières* rose into the air, soon with a "nacelle" carrying passengers. When in 1783 such a balloon flew in the presence of King Louis XVI, the envoy from the new-born United States, Benjamin Franklin, and all the court at Versailles, an old marchioness exclaimed: "They will invent a way not to die, and I shall be already dead!"

Then came the turn of the dirigible. In 1884, Captains Renard and Krebs left Meudon in their machine, traveled to Billancourt, near Paris, part of the time against the wind, and returned to their hangar in Meudon.

America's turn came next with the Wright brothers, inventors of the heavier than air machine, an enormous advance on all that had gone before them. For several years no one knew for sure what they were doing. They offered to sell us their secret for a stated sum, and in accordance with instructions from home, I sent the military attaché

of my Embassy, Captain, now General, Fournier, to see them at Dayton. He returned positive as to the value of the invention.

"I have seen nothing," he told me, "but I have seen the Wright brothers. There is honesty in their faces; such men cannot lie."

The contract however was not closed; the privilege was offered for such a brief period

Louis Blériot landing in England, no longer thenceforth the same island country as before.

That was the wonder of the day; other wonders have followed in quick succession. And now this tall, fair-haired young man, with his winning smile and simple manners, succeeds where many have failed, and holds the record for wonderful achievements at the present day. Well may he be fêted; our



THE PEOPLE OF PARIS WELCOME LINDBERGH

(A part of the spontaneous reception which surpassed all previous greetings to individuals. This picture shows the crowds cheering the American flier as he left the City Hall)

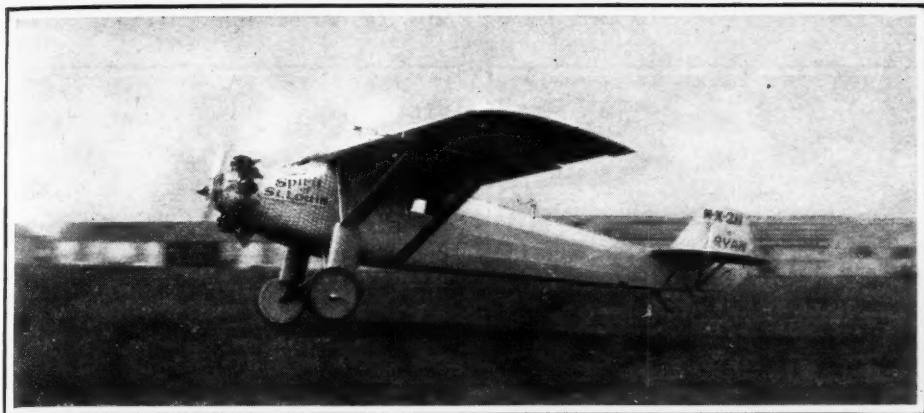
that by the time our people had mastered the unknown mechanism, the end of the contract would have been at hand. The event showed, however, that the psychology of Captain Fournier (who was to distinguish himself in the great war) had not been at fault, for the Wright brothers publicly made good all they had said when they flew 56 miles at Le Mans and won the Michelin prize, on September 21st, 1908.

Mere trials as yet to be sure; the slightest puff of wind was a serious impediment, but evolution was to be rapid. When Mr. Roosevelt left for his African hunt, those attempts were as yet mere curiosities. But when on his return journey he reached Khartoum he must have found an illustrated postcard which I had sent him, representing

only fear is that he may feel a surfeit in being over-fêted.

In the introduction to a volume of essays which he published not long before his death in 1907, the celebrated chemist Marcelin Berthelot reviewed the state of science at that time and prophesied that certain inventions would cause greater changes in the world than any that had gone before. They might be made the next day or perhaps several centuries hence. [One was the mastery of the air. And, he added, think of this: no more frontiers.

Toward this end which, let us hope, may bring about greater concord among men, Charles Lindbergh and his *Spirit of Saint Louis* have made the flight to which they owe the applause of the two worlds.



LINDBERGH AND HIS PLANE "HOP OFF" FROM THE FLYING FIELD ON LONG ISLAND

NEW YORK TO PARIS BY AIR



ONE of the most dramatic achievements in human history, the first direct flight from New York to Paris, began on a damp, depressing morning

on Roosevelt Field on Long Island, twenty miles east of New York. Charles Lindbergh, who seemed to be a likeable college boy, but was really an airman of 1800 hours flying experience, started his monoplane down a runway specially prepared for airplanes taking off on distance

flights. With difficulty his roaring motor pulled the plane, loaded to more than two and one half times its own weight, down the muddy turf. Finally, on Lindbergh's third effort to "stall" the plane into the air, it hung there sluggishly, a few feet above the ground. It was flying!

Lindbergh "took off" at eight minutes before eight on the morning of May 21. He flew up the New England coast to Newfoundland, and headed out over the sea, alone. Through a night of cold, fog, and sleet he flew, and on into a second day which at last brought sunshine. In the afternoon, he saw before him the



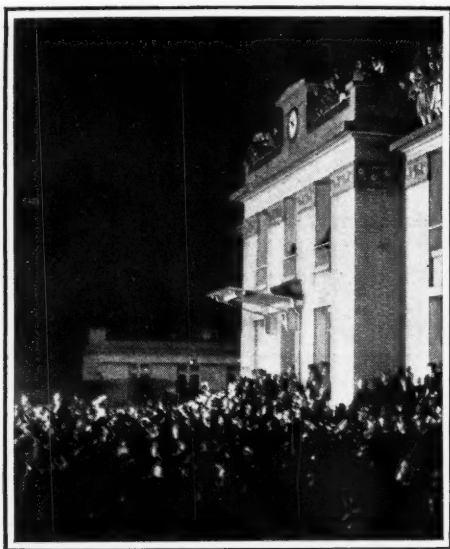
CHARLES LINDBERGH AND HIS MOTHER

(Since the death of Congressman Lindbergh, three years ago, the widow has been teaching chemistry in a Detroit high school)



THE THREE AVIATORS

(Lindbergh, who reached Paris; Byrd, of Arctic fame, who was delayed by a broken wrist; and Chamberlin, who reached Germany)



A HUNDRED THOUSAND FRENCHMEN WELCOME THE FLIER AS HE ARRIVES AT LE BOURGET FIELD

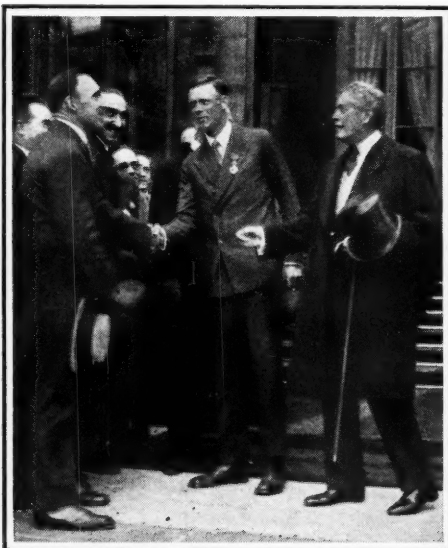


AFTER PRESIDENT DOUMERGUE (CENTER) PINNED ON THE CROSS OF THE LEGION OF HONOR

Irish coast. Then it was easy sailing—across the Irish Sea, the Channel, up the Seine in time to see Paris ahead of him just before dark, and at last, the landing at his goal, Le Bourget.

He had flown 33 hours and 29 minutes, for a distance of 3610 miles. The single motor, which never once faltered, was an air-cooled

Wright of more than 200 horsepower. The airplane was an adaptation of a stock Ryan monoplane. Its wing spread was 46 feet, and over-all length 27 feet. Lindbergh navigated by dead reckoning, relying on a recently developed earth inductor compass not liable to the errors of magnetic compasses.



AMBASSADOR HERRICK (RIGHT) PRESENTS FRENCH ADMIRERS TO THE AMERICAN WHO FLEW ACROSS THE OCEAN



AFTER A WEEK IN PARIS, LINDBERGH FLEW TO BRUSSELS AND THEN TO THIS RECEPTION IN LONDON



THE CRASH OF COMMANDER DAVIS'S "AMERICAN LEGION"

IS AVIATION A DELUSION?

I. A British Critic Attacks

[When the recent dramatic flights across the Atlantic had aroused a greater enthusiasm for flying than the world has ever known, there appeared a book, "The Great Delusion," whose argument is that flying can never attain any great usefulness. Its publication in England was taken as an attack on the British air policy, and aroused a small tempest. Because it promises to cause a lively controversy in this country, the chief contentions of the anonymous author are presented here.—THE EDITOR]

"CONTACT!" shouted the mechanic that misty May morning at Roosevelt Field.

"Contact!" echoed Captain Lindbergh from his cockpit, and the roar of his motor shattered the morning quiet. A day and a half later he settled to earth at Le Bourget; and now most laymen agree that man has conquered the air. Just as surely as the steady drone of passenger planes has followed Blériot across the English Channel, so will three-motored air liners thunder us along Lindbergh's trail to Paris.

All of which is nonsense, the sheerest moonshine of popular credulity, born of a few heroic flights which no more prove aviation practical than one man's luck proves gambling lucrative; the belief that flying can ever have a real use is a Great Delusion. Such is the theme of a book directed at the British air policy which has caused pointed comment in the House of Commons and sharp discussion throughout England. It is now published here,¹ and promises to strike sparks from American

aviation authorities. It undertakes to demonstrate that

airships can never be safe or practical as commercial long-distance vessels, and that they are useless in war; that airplanes can never be made to pay in peace as passenger or freight carriers, and that in war they have proved themselves to be unreliable, ineffective, and unprofitable, no matter how brave the pilots or spectacular their exploits.

The author, "understood to be a high officer in the British navy," calls himself Neon after the gas used in the flashing orange beacons which penetrate fogs at airdromes. Coming at this time, what he says is startling. Yet it is in good measure convincing. Merely by collecting facts open to all, and presenting them together, Neon casts a doubt on the future of flying that is too real to be ignored. If anyone thinks that glorious sensation of sailing high above the earth will ever be cheap, safe, or useful, Neon says in effect, let him consider these facts and be wiser:

Dirigibles and airplanes, unlike any other vehicle but the submarine, navigate in a single medium. Railroads may buck head-winds, but thanks to their grip on the rails they arrive on time. Steamships ply through two elements—water and air—with

¹The Great Delusion: A Study of Aircraft in Peace and War. By Neon, with a preface by Arthur Hungerford Pollen. New York, Lincoln MacVeagh: The Dial Press. \$4.

little variation in schedule; and even sailing ships, within certain limits, turn the wind to their own uses.

Not so with aircraft, which are hopelessly dependent on the movement of the air. Contrary to popular belief, they feel no wind other than that caused by their own motion, for they are inherent parts of the current, the apparent "wind" in which they fly. This fact alone is enough to quench the hope that aircraft can ever maintain regular long-distance schedules. As Neon says, "for aircraft, the distance between two places is not the geographical distance, but the distance determined by the air currents prevailing at the time." Thus a transatlantic plane might start on an apparent flight of some 3,300 miles to Paris; but should the wind blow westward with enough force, as well it might, the plane would have to fly an extra thousand miles through the air. "Wind dominates aircraft to the full extent of its own speed and direction," and "this fundamental fact, with all the disabilities it implies, governs the whole of aircraft operation for all time."

Much of Neon's attention is given to airships, for British plans call for two giant dirigibles to carry 100 passengers each, with their luggage and ten tons of mail. There are to be sleeping cabins, promenade decks, lounges, smoking rooms, and dining saloons to seat fifty persons at a time; and the speed of these ships of the air is to link the scattered parts of the empire, from India to Australia, closer to the mother country.

All this is an idle dream, Neon believes. With dirigibles "the effort is enormous—the whole result in useful load negligible." Did not the *Shenandoah* have difficulty in rising high enough to cross the Rockies, though her load was cut to the bone? If all goes well, those great ships can carry, at sea level, a useful load of eight and one-half tons. This for a vessel as large as the *Mauretania*! Moreover, a landing crew of 250 at least is required to make them fast to a mooring mast; and if a good breeze is blowing across the mouth of their sheds, they can neither enter nor leave them.

So much for the future. What of the past? What of the *R-38*, *R-34*, *Shenandoah*, *Roma*, *Dixmude*, and many a "blimp" and Zeppelin? Smashed or burned, utterly wrecked, all of them, only too often with all their crew.

In this country, though we cherish the surviving *Los Angeles*, we put our trust in

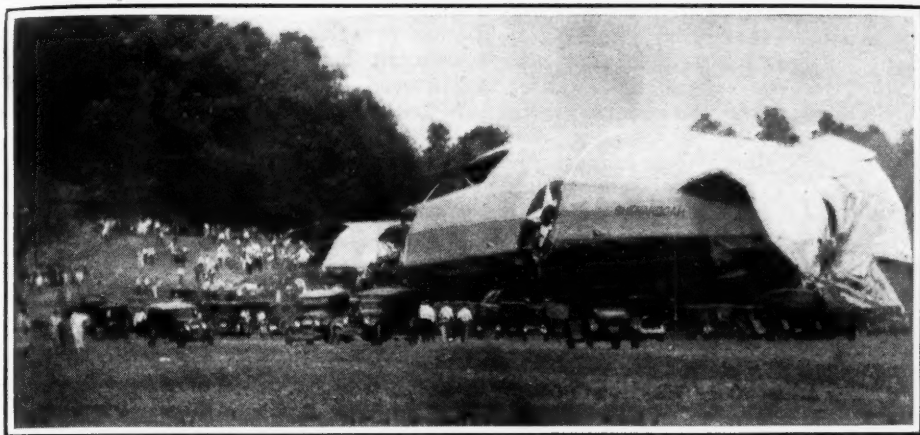
airplanes, craft of the breed which carried Lindbergh to Paris, and which, with the death of a pilot every now and then, carry our mails.

But Neon moves to the attack. The airplane must fight its natural enemy, gravity, every second of the way. "Approximately four-fifths of the total power installed is required to maintain the airplane and its load in the air against the natural law of gravity." And, as was said in the hearings of the Morrow Commission, "the tractive effort necessary to pull an airplane through the air is more than ten times as great per pound of gross weight as by a freight train." We cannot get away from it. Improve planes and motors as we will, produce heroic pilots as we do—but the force of gravity will pull them down if the motor does not ceaselessly turn over the needed number of revolutions.

Granted that pilots and passengers are willing to risk their necks, how can commercial flying, admittedly the aim of aviation, be made to pay? When heavy subsidies were paid to British companies operating across the Channel, planes flew, after a fashion. But when subsidies were cut off, flying ceased. Then when in 1924 several companies were united into the British Imperial Airways Limited, the Government provided a subsidy of £1,000,000 for ten years, and once more service began. Its dependence on this aid is absolute; and it costs British taxpayers more than eighty cents for every mile flown.

It has been freely predicted that Lindbergh's flight will prove to be the forerunner of a passenger service to Europe. But Lindbergh sat two days and a night in a wicker seat. Berths in airplanes—rather desirable for a thirty-three-hour flight—are a long way in the future. Add the stuffiness of a closed cabin, the smell of hot castor oil, the interminable noise of the motors, the sickening drops and slippings and jolts on a "bumpy" day, and most passengers will prefer the comparative security of a steamer's decks.

As for speed on really long flights, consider the journey of the four R. A. F. machines which flew from Cairo to the Cape and back to London. "At a very great cost," remarks Neon, "four machines, aggregating 1,800 horsepower, conveyed eight persons a distance of 14,000 miles in 114 days, giving an average continuous speed of five miles an hour. It is stated that the



WHAT A STORM DID TO ONE AIRSHIP—THE "SHENANDOAH"

machines kept to a scheduled time-table. With the same horsepower, but at comparatively trifling cost, two tramp steamers, running also to scheduled time, could have conveyed 4,600 tons of cargo a similar distance in half the time."

If some aviation enthusiast has enough heart left to protest that airplanes are still in an experimental stage, Neon answers that a quarter-century was enough to prove the worth of railroad, steamship, and automobile. Why not the airplane, unless because of inherent defects in principle?

Now, if peace-time flying is limited to a costly and ineffective gesture, what of war? A great deal has been said to the effect that battleships are obsolete, and that war between armies instead of air campaigns against whole nations are a thing of history. But once more Neon quotes the record, notably that of Germany, which had more dirigibles than any other belligerent. Of sixty-one Zeppelins assigned to the German fleet—that includes those which tried to bomb England—seventeen were destroyed in battle with their entire crews, twenty-eight were lost in accidents, and six had to be put out of service as useless.

As Neon reads the records, airplanes were of little use in determining the outcome of the war. They proved unreliable again and again in reconnaissance. Had not Ludendorff prepared all winter for his attack in the spring of 1918? And was it not, in spite of thorough airplane scouting, a complete surprise to the Allies? As for artillery spotting, unless the observer is unhampered by anti-aircraft fire and enemy

planes, and is spotting for a single battery, he cannot give accurate reports. Fighting planes may have brought back a warfare of chivalry, but they had no bearing on the outcome of the war. The day of heaviest losses in Allied airplanes and distinct German supremacy in the air was August 8, 1918; but in spite of that it was a black day for the real German army on the ground.

What, then, of bombing? Perhaps the most perfect targets of the whole war were the canals and locks of Zeebrugge, essential to the German submarine campaign. They offered a visible target if ever there was one. Yet, whether from anti-aircraft defense or from the inherent difficulty of dropping a bomb accurately on anything, they remained unharmed throughout the war, until in 1918 the British navy put them out of business.

Not only is it extremely difficult to hit anything—intentionally—with a bomb dropped from an airplane, but it is also difficult to find and identify the desired objective. Neon quotes an American report about an American aviator who bombarded an American division headquarters from a British plane, went back several times for more bombs, and finally had to be brought down by a French plane before being convinced that he was not attacking the enemy. And then there was that British flier who bombed a Dutch town under the impression it was a Belgian village held by the Germans.

Record after record in Neon's book shows that accurate bombing of military objectives, under war conditions, is extremely difficult. That leaves this unpleasant

alternative: bombing must be aimed at a whole city—at non-combatants, at old women, little children, cripples, and citizens in their homes. It must be a warfare of frightfulness, the *schrecklichkeit* for which we reproached the Germans, but which has been practised since the war in Morocco and Syria. Instead of subduing the population by its frightfulness, it inflamed their re-

sentment. Yet such a reversion to barbarism is the one "useful" service of which aircraft have proved themselves capable in war.

Neon's arguments tell a forceful tale, and it is this: If man wants to do any flying other than short, expensive hops in fair weather—he had better stay on the ground.

II. An American Expert Replies

BY LESTER D. GARDNER

(Former Major, U. S. Air Service; Publisher, Aviation Magazine)

AMERICANS who read "The Great Delusion" will probably find themselves enveloped in a fog of bewildering and perplexing assertions. The author chose "Neon" for his *nom de plume*. Apparently he wished to indicate that he had acquired fog-penetrating qualities like those possessed by the gas neon. But he overlooked the fact that this rare gas is normally inert, and is useful in aviation only when excited and emitting a fiery red glare.

It is Neon's assertion that, beyond limited and costly flights, nothing good will or can come of aviation. I shall not try to refute in detail the errors by which he tries to substantiate this contention in his book. With some of them I shall deal; but I believe it more useful to try to give American readers a key with which to unlock the reason for Neon's attack.

That key is this: the reader must add as a sub-title to the book, "Royal Air Force vs. Royal British Navy; a Brief for the Defendant." To understand why this attack on all forms of aerial navigation and warfare was made, it is necessary to be indoctrinated with the maxim "a strong offense is the best defense," a maxim not unknown to navy proponents. Neon is said to be an officer in the Royal Navy. Certainly what he says makes one think so.

To those who have followed the resistance of naval officers of all countries since the war to any encroachment of aircraft on the sphere of the battleship, the facts and deductions made in "The Great Delusion" will be only a reassembling and marshalling in force of a few of the more confusing protestations that have been made in England and the United States. The author's diligence in searching out what

may appear to be damaging assertions by men bearing high rank in political, military and naval circles, and his use of their statements for his own purpose, is worthy of a lawyer defending a client in extremes.

Readers of Neon's diatribe will be mystified by his constant reduction of all aerial activities to a cost basis. Those who are unfamiliar with itemized expenditures of the military and naval services may be surprised at the size of some of the figures. But when compared to military and naval costs they are small.

All navies have suffered reductions as the result of limitations by conferences on the one hand and the growing demand for aerial defense on the other. This condition has been particularly exasperating to the Navy in Great Britain, since the formation of the Royal Air Force and the taking over by it of all naval aircraft was due to the utter neglect of aviation by the British Navy during the War. When the navies of the world awakened to the indispensability of aircraft, the British Navy found that "the eyes of the fleet" had been allowed to atrophy. The controversy between Navy and Air Force reached its culmination when Earl Beatty, First Lord of the Admiralty, threatened to retire if the British Navy was not relieved of the blindness which neglect had brought upon it. Even this did not accomplish its purpose; and naval officers still fly Air Force planes.

An indication of naval influence is the long meteorological discussion regarding the effect of "wind." This is merely an elaboration of the facts presented by Admiral Sir W. H. Henderson in 1925. The Admiral, however, gives his readers the benefit of knowing the source of their information.

A major portion of the book is given over to what would appear to be an exhaustive study of airships. Profuse notes and references give the impression of extensive research on the part of Neon. At the outset he indicates that he has made a great discovery, namely, that airships float on air currents—"this fact is not being generally recognized, its supreme significance is ignored." Possibly the fact that a drift indicator to give the direction of the wind is installed on all airships might indicate that he is fighting a wind Frankenstein.

Neon uses a speed of fifty miles per hour to illustrate the danger of wind currents. "Whether she will ever arrive at her destination, if the same general meteorological conditions continue, will depend upon the amount of fuel she has in her tanks." He fails to mention that the commander of a modern airship would merely signal "Full speed ahead," and add twenty or thirty miles an hour to his speed.

Page after page is devoted to accidents that have occurred to airships, but the author's extensive researches did not disclose, or perhaps it did not fit into his plan to show, the fine record of the *Bodensee*, the German Zeppelin that made regular trips between Berlin and Friedrichshafen, carrying thousands of passengers without difficulty. This airship is to-day in a hangar near Rome, and last year when the writer saw her under her new name *Esperia*, she looked as airworthy as she was before the War.

After devoting 151 pages to airships, Neon reverts to the financial problem when he concludes, "Those who believe that airships have a great future should look to other than the State funds to finance their schemes and establish their hopes. All other means of transport have been so established in the past." Americans will undoubtedly be reminded of the indifference to Ericsson when he advocated the *Monitor*, and to Lake's enthusiasm for the submarine.

To understand the motive of Neon's criticism of civil aviation, it should be understood that the British Government has subsidized the air lines that operate from Croydon airdrome, near London, to



PROVING THAT MAN CAN FLY

(A squadron of naval pursuit planes high over San Diego. Daily flights by large numbers of military airplanes are pointed to by aviators as ample proof of the practicability of flying)

the Continent, as well as the newly established Cairo-Karachi air line. This requires larger appropriations for the Air Ministry, and therefore makes it more difficult for the Navy to secure all the funds it needs.

The chapter on "Civil Aviation" is devoted principally to showing how much the government is spending for the encouragement of passenger flying. As an example of the author's methods of figuring costs, one incident will serve. He cites the landing in the Syrian Desert of the Spanish aviator Captain Estevez. The Royal Air Force sent its planes in search of him; Neon calculates the cost of this rescue mission: "If it is true, as Commander Burney stated in the House of Commons, that the cost of each and every minute of flying of the R. A. F., is £2, the expense of this kindly enterprise, disregarding the activities of armored cars, must have approximated £27,000." He asserts that it cost the British Government \$130,000 to fly 225 hours—which, of course, is as untrue as it is absurd.

Neon is not so certain as to the imprac-

ticability of commercial aircraft as he is to its use in warfare. He appears to be interested only in the cost of subsidies to the British taxpayer. The writer last year flew 21,000 miles over the commercial air lines of Europe, and found only the most enthusiastic support being given to the development of commercial aviation in every country, and nowhere was there such confidence as to the future of commercial possibilities as in England.

When "The Great Delusion" discusses air warfare and the bombing of towns it characterizes this new form of warfare as "the Hooliganism of war." The impression is created that the valorous pilots of the last war (and therefore future wars), with the approval of their chiefs, intended to drop bombs loaded with explosives and poisonous gas on a terrified civilian population. It is probably true that every country will be prepared to retaliate if any uncivilized country attempts such warfare; but to be credulous enough to believe that the brave French or British flying services would bomb without warning would require a new conception of airmen.

When the writer flew over Mesopotamia last year and saw the Royal Air Force controlling this country at one-fifth the cost of army occupation and heard how bombing expeditions were accomplished, he was particularly impressed with the fact that this is the most humane method of fighting that civilization has ever known. When a sheik becomes unmanageable it requires only a few hours, instead of weeks, to warn him by an air courier, or by a message dropped from the air. If he does not obey instructions, he is told that his settlement will be bombed, and is directed to have the members of his tribe evacuate their mud houses. If they do not, a few small bombs are dropped where they will not endanger life, after which the inhabitants usually leave, or more frequently turn their sheik over to the authorities.

In Morocco, Abd-el-Krim proved to be a difficult foe for the French and Spanish infantry and artillery as well as for their aircraft. Having flown over the Moroccan mountains of North Africa, and having observed the forbidding country which sheltered the Arab chieftain, it is apparent to the writer why neither armies nor aircraft could gain much headway against that irregular warfare conducted from mountain fastnesses.

Neon maintains that "aerial bombing is from its very nature absurdly inaccurate and, therefore, indiscriminate. Successful attacks on specific and protected targets are operations beyond the scope of air power." But he quotes only one bombing of battleships since the War. The tests with the *Agamemnon*, which even the British considered farcical, are cited as convincing proof that battleships are immune from air bombardment. Only five lines of the book are devoted to the bombing of the German battleships off the Virginia coast in 1921. The accuracy with which bombs were dropped on these targets and the high percentage of effective shots silenced forever, it was believed, the naval claim that battleships could neither be hit nor sunk.

Neon's readers would probably secure the impression from his book that there have been no developments in bomb sights since the War. Those who are informed regarding secret bomb sight development in all parts of the world, particularly in the United States, will know that the accuracy with which objects, either stationary or moving, can be hit by these marvels of mechanical calculation is almost beyond belief. Having witnessed the sinking of submarines, destroyers, cruisers and also the battleship *Ostfriesland*, and having witnessed the change of naval opinion after those tests, it is the writer's opinion that if a retired British naval officer did not secure more facts regarding the success of battleship bombing than he has, it must have been a deliberate oversight.

When "The Great Delusion" was published in England in January, it caused a very intense discussion. It is believed by those interested in flying that nothing has caused people to think about the possibility of aviation as much as the refutation of Neon's assertions, and nothing is needed more than to have the facts concerning this latest transportation vehicle known. Anything, even an attack, stimulates interest and the believers in air power are not fearful of criticism.

With the Atlantic crossed from continent to continent twice in one month, any astigmatic view of the potentialities of aircraft will be met with ridicule and wonderment rather than credulity. If past experience makes one thing clear, it is this: flying, both by airplane and dirigible, is sure to grow.

THE FARM PROBLEM STATED

BY FRANK O. LOWDEN

(Representative in Congress, 1906-11; Governor of Illinois, 1917-21)

THE discussion over the farm situation has reached a new stage. It is being seen that it is not only the farmer who is involved. The business world is now viewing the problem as one in which business too is vitally interested.

In the summer of 1925 the National Industrial Conference Board, with headquarters in New York, undertook a thorough study of the farm problem. That board is an organization set up by the chief industries of the country for economic research into questions affecting industry. While agriculture might seem to be beyond its purview, it reached the conclusion—wisely, I think—that agriculture and industry were so closely interrelated that it could not longer afford to disregard complaints which had been coming from the agricultural sections of the country for a number of years. Its investigations were thorough and exhaustive. It issued its final report early last summer in an impressive volume. Among other things, the Conference Board found that agriculture had been able to go on in recent years “largely through sacrifice of its capital assets and through sacrifice of the soil resources of the nation.”

The very able president of that board, Mr. Magnus W. Alexander, in an address recently delivered in New York, said:

American farmers as a group are buying about six billion dollars' worth of manufactured goods from American industry each year.

They are paying, in addition, for about four billion dollars' worth of services rendered by others annually.

They are supplying one-eighth of the tonnage carried by the railroads.

They are exporting about one-half of the total value of exports from the United States.

They are debtors to other groups to the enormous sum of over twelve billion dollars.

Is there any further argument needed to show the close relationship and interdependence between American agriculture and other economic groups in our national life? Does this not make quite clear that, if agriculture is economically handicapped—and hence not prosperous—industry,

commerce, finance and transportation can not attain their full measure of prosperity?

Yet, while constituting about 30 per cent. of our population, the farming community's share of the national income was in 1921 only 10 per cent. and is now probably not more than 7½ per cent.

When, therefore, one urges justice for the farmer and insists upon a larger share of the national income for those who till the soil, he is speaking in the interest, not of a single class, but of society as a whole. I recognize the interdependence of all classes in this highly complex age in which we live. If any other large class of our population were laboring under the disadvantages which now oppress the farmer, my voice would be raised as earnestly in behalf of justice for that class. I know that agriculture cannot flourish with industry prostrate, with railroads bankrupt, with commerce languishing. All I seek to do is to bring agriculture up to the level of these other forces in our national life.

VIOLENT FLUCTUATION

Nor am I unmindful of the great body of consumers of farm products. They are already paying in most instances as much and in many instances more than they should for the products of the farm. The trouble with the present system of marketing and distribution is that too small a part of what they pay goes to the producer and too large a part is absorbed in the cost of distribution.

To illustrate: According to the Department of Agriculture, during the years 1923, 1924, and 1925, the price of hogs fluctuated about 100 per cent. The price of pork products fluctuated about one-third as much. During the same period the price of wheat fluctuated 100 per cent., and the price of bread to the consumer fluctuated less than 5 per cent. Does any one believe for a moment that the consumer received any benefit from the low prices

which the farmers received during a part of this time? Is it not entirely probable that if the price of hogs and wheat had been stabilized somewhere near the cost of production, the consumer would have paid lower prices for his bacon and his bread?

Wide fluctuations in the price of any commodity always result in a loss to the producer and consumer alike. As one able writer puts it:

Fluctuations only benefit the speculative middleman. When prices soar, the producer rarely receives the full value of the increase, but the consumer invariably has to pay it. A severe fall in wholesale prices is very rarely fully reflected in the retail price to the consumer, but is always completely felt by the producer. It would therefore seem that stable prices would benefit both the producer and the consumer.

We are told, too, by the economists that if the present conditions continue in agriculture, the consumer sooner or later will be the one to suffer. All authorities agree that unprofitable farming means two things: It means, first, that we drive from the farms young able-bodied men who prefer to live upon the farm but who are lured cityward by the larger rewards there offered. A report issued by the Department of Agriculture states that the farm population of the United States was reduced by almost 650,000 during the last year. It means also the running down of the farm plant and the exhaustion of the soil; for the fertility of the soil is maintained only where farming is profitable. This affects, and affects deeply, the farmer; but it involves the very life of the nation as well.

These causes operating together will in a few years, we are told, result in such a decrease in production as to cause prices to go unreasonably high, causing great distress in the consuming centers. It is clear that agriculture must be made reasonably profitable for the benefit of the consumer as well as the producer.

From every angle, therefore, the problem ceases to be agricultural merely and becomes one of truly national scope.

In the early days of agriculture, the farm was really a self-sustaining home and little more. The pioneer farmer could sell the surplus of the things he had produced, primarily for his own use, for enough at least to meet his small cash outlay. In the evolution of agriculture, however, everything has changed. Commercialized farming has taken the place of pioneer farming.

In the simpler age, cost of production did not concern the farmer much. When he produced enough to feed and clothe his family, he had accomplished his main purpose. And if there was a surplus, so much the better. And the larger the surplus the wealthier the farmer was deemed. Well-filled hay mows, bursting granaries, and ample livestock in those days denoted the status of the farmer. A balance sheet was both unnecessary and unknown to him.

FARMERS NOW BUSINESS MEN

To-day all is changed. The farmer is a business man bound by the laws which operate in other business fields. His cash expenditures are large. If he is to produce enough of food and clothing for the teeming millions in the industrial centers, he too must employ industrial means in production. The scythe has given way to the mower, the simple plow to the gang plow, the cradle to the powerful self-binder, and the flail to the threshing machine. He must employ fertilizers if he would keep up the fertility of his soil. The social needs of his community have required better drainage, better roads, and better schools, and all these have entailed a further burden upon him in the form of taxes. He now has a large annual cash outlay. He is a producer no longer for himself mainly, but to supply the needs of this industrial age. The surplus which he produces is now the important thing.

Cost of production, therefore, has become as vital a question with the farmer as with the manufacturer. It must be conceded, I think, that no one, farmer or manufacturer, can go on producing indefinitely in this commercial world at less than cost of production. It follows that some way must be found, if we are to insure future adequate supply of food and clothing, by which the producers of these prime necessities can secure at least the cost to them of producing those necessities. This is the conclusion which Prof. Edward M. East, of Harvard University, reaches in his discussion of the problem. He says:

The true financial worry of the farmer comes from having to plant his maximum acreage from six months to a year before he receives his returns, without having any idea of the price he is to receive for his labor. He not only has to plant, but he has to plant pretty much the same crops as he planted the previous year, for proper farming means

specialization. He is, therefore, between the upper and the nether millstones.

Now, I am sure I can give no concrete remedy for this problem. It is too big and involved for off-hand solution. Yet it must have a solution, even though it be somewhat imperfect, if the nation is going to make the most of its resources. Solutions should be worked out by experts, and Congress forced into line to try them out. Something can certainly be done to give the farmer a return for his products that is based on the cost of production, as in any other business; and that is all he asks.

In the industrial and commercial world we have been undergoing a silent revolution as to methods of control of production, of selling and of determining prices, of which we are hardly conscious. This has come about in various ways. In some of the important industries there is a single corporation so large and powerful as practically to dominate the field. It has competitors in a way, and yet, by common consent, this large corporation is permitted initially to make the price. Its rivals in practice follow substantially the price thus made. There may be no agreement in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, but the lesser rivals have learned from experience that it is perilous to engage in price-cutting with the larger corporation. Two years ago Charles M. Schwab predicted a rosy future for industry, largely upon the ground of "coöperation between competitors."

In other industries, the same result is obtained through the trade association, which has become so popular a device of modern industry. Through these organizations a new custom has arisen in many industries in recent years. Prof. John R. Commons describes this custom. Under this he says: "It is unethical to steal a competitor's customers or laborers by cutting prices or raising wages. They may get what they can from each other by arts of salesmanship and good management, but not by price-cutting or wage-raising."

Through these and similar practices the manufacturers have largely taken the control of prices of their products into their own hands. Naturally, the producer usually arrives at a price by computing the cost of production and adding what he considers a reasonable profit. He may sometimes err as to what the public will pay and have to revise his price downward, but he himself in the first instance sets the price. It has followed from this trend that brokers and middlemen in all other fields have been gradually disappearing. The

producer has assumed the burden of naming the price.

And so the farmer finds himself in a business world in which the prices of the things he has to buy come to him ready made. He can, of course, refuse to buy for the time, but in the end he must either yield or go out of business.

SHOULD AGRICULTURE SET ITS OWN PRICES?

Upon the other hand, when it comes to selling under present marketing conditions, again he is not in position to have a voice. The price which is offered to him he, acting as an individual, must take or go out of business. He wonders how long he can survive in a world which decides for him what he shall pay for what he buys and also what he shall receive for what he sells. He is groping for some way by which he shall have the same voice as to the price of his products which other people have in determining the price for theirs.

Nor has the farmer, as is commonly supposed, any quarrel with the law of supply and demand. No one, so far as I know, denies the validity of that law in its influence upon prices. Some of us, however, deny that it is self-operating so as to preserve nicely a perfect balance between the supply and the demand. The law of supply and demand is not vocal. Some speak of it as though the law itself, in some magic way, announced a price. If we examine the matter we shall find that human agencies play an important part in the operation of this law so far as determining the market price is concerned.

Some one must in the first instance name the price of any commodity. It does not come down from the sky. No oracle announces it. Somebody must say what he thinks a bushel of corn or a pound of lint cotton or a pound of butter is worth to-day. Who is so fitted to make this first declaration as the producer himself? He knows that production cannot go on long unless he receives at least the cost of production. Now, this is exactly the line of reasoning which all other producers pursue. Their fight for over a quarter of a century has been to name in the first instance the price for their product. To accomplish this successfully, they have found it necessary to retain control of the product until it quite or nearly reaches the consumer.

They have less and less sold to distributors and more and more to the consumer direct. They have regulated the volume of their product which is on the market at any one time, or is offered for sale in any particular market. In this way the price does not fluctuate from day to day and from hour to hour. Nor is it the football of traders who have no interest in his enterprise and who are concerned only with trading profits.

Perhaps the most important factor in considering the influence of the law of supply and demand in actually determining prices is this: The supply, as the economists define it, which operates in price change "does not mean the total stock of goods in existence but the quantity which sellers are willing and able to sell at the former price." Therefore, whoever exercises a substantial control upon the flow of the product to the market is an important factor in making the price. It is perfectly evident that hundreds of thousands of individual producers are deprived of this advantage when each acts for himself.

More and more, farmers are selling their products to great distributing agencies, which have in a measure eliminated competition among themselves in one of the ways I have pointed out above. Thus the actual demand is lessened for the time. The price must fall unless the farmer, through something like centralized selling agencies, is able at the same time to regulate the flow of the commodity to the market.

What the farmer asks is that he be given the same right to name a price in the first instance, and that he be enabled to acquire an organization which will secure to him the same power to maintain that price which other industries through their superior organization now enjoy.

BUMPER CROP: RUINOUS PRICE

Under present conditions we have this anomaly: The farmer is not nearly so likely to suffer from a short crop as from a bumper crop. As Professors Ely and Morehouse, in "Elements of Land Economics," recently published, say: "A general good season may bring a bumper crop, a fact that is heralded by the metropolitan press as a sign of the prosperity of the farmer and of the nation. As a matter of fact, a bumper crop usually brings ruinously low prices."

The farmer is glad when he sees the kindly earth responding generously to his

efforts to wring from its capricious bosom sustenance for man and beast. His gladness, however, is tempered with the bitter thought that maybe those seeming blessings of a kindly Providence may bring him ruin. He is always confronted with this dilemma: If he produce too little, men and women and children will be but meagerly supplied with the necessities of life; if he produce too much, the surplus for the time may break the price he receives for his product to a point where it would have been better for him if he had let his fields lie fallow throughout the year.

Those who tire of the farmer's complaint say that he must adjust his production to the probable demand, just as industry does. While no doubt progress can be made through farmer organizations better to coördinate supply with demand, he cannot avoid the occasional surplus.

CORN AND COTTON AS EXAMPLES

To illustrate: In 1924, the corn crop amounted to 2,300,000,000 bushels. The following year, 1925, it was 2,900,000,000 bushels. And yet the 2,900,000,000 bushels were worth less, according to the Government, by \$300,000,000, than the smaller crop of the year before. Suppose now that the farmers, seeing that 2,300,000,000 bushels were worth \$300,000,000 more than 2,900,000,000 bushels, had attempted to adjust their acreage to the more profitable smaller crop. They would have cut it down 25 per cent. Did they do this? Not at all. They reduced their acreage about one-half of one per cent. And it is fortunate for the world that they pursued this course; for, according to the Government's last estimate, the yield in 1926 was close to 275,000,000 bushels less than the year before—an amount less than the average for the five-year period, and certainly no more than needed.

If they had effected the reduction of 25 per cent. which some of our theoretical friends suggested, we would have had a crop last year of about 2,000,000,000 bushels, or way below the nation's need. The result would have been very high prices for corn and—what is more important to the consumer—a very burdensome increase in the price of pork and beef products.

We have been producing cotton for considerably more than a hundred years. We are told that in 1925 we had the third

largest crop of record. As a result the price declined to a point where it was not profitable to produce it, if we would measure profits by the standard employed in every other field of human activity. And yet at the close of that season there was not a sufficient carryover of cotton to keep the spindles of the world busy for four months.

Cotton continued on its downward path. It rallied slightly upon the Government report of July 23, a year ago, showing a crop of 15,368,000 bales for 1926, and reached the price of 18½ cents a pound. This in all conscience would seem to be sufficient punishment to the cotton-growers of the South for daring to raise 200,000 bales more than the world's need. For, during 1925, according to Hester, the world took 15,165,000 bales of American cotton. This surplus would feed the cotton spindles for about five days. Cotton-growers were puzzled and depressed by the heavy price they paid for these excess bales. But the end was not yet.

Subsequent Government reports increased the estimated yield by about 3,250,000 bales. This added another surplus which it would take about two and a half months to consume. Cotton went from 18½ cents a pound to 12¼ cents a pound, as a result of this two-and-a-half-months' increase in surplus. It remained at about that price until practically all cotton was out of the growers' hands. Again the cotton-growers were penalized. I have figured it out on the basis of cotton-exchange quotations. This increase in the yield of just enough of cotton to supply the spindles of the world for eighty days cost the cotton farmers of the South more than \$300,000,000.

Yet we knew at the time that if the Government's largest estimate of yield were realized, there would not be enough American cotton at the end of the season to supply the spindles of the world for a half-year. We knew, too, that we could have no assurance that the entire carryover at the end of the season would not become a vital need the next year.

There is now no promise of an exceptional crop in 1927. The cause is the same cause which always has been the largest factor in determining the size of any farm crop—namely, the vagaries of weather. The spring has been unkindly. In some sections of the cotton belt there has been too much cold; in others too much rain. Indeed, the

situation is so adverse that the market price of cotton has increased about \$20 a bale. This adds a value to the crop of last year of more than \$300,000,000. The added value, however, comes after almost the last bale had left the farmer's hands.

WHAT TO DO WITH A SURPLUS?

If there were not surpluses some years, there would be a deficiency in others, and the world would be lacking in sufficient food and clothes. The farmer must always plan to raise more than just enough if the world is to be fed and clothed. The nation that holds this surplus is the richer for having it. If, however, such surpluses are thrown on the market, and thus permitted to crush the farmer under the slow operation of economic laws, the time will come when there will be no surplus, and consumers will face a food shortage. Mankind has been producing food for some thousands of years. Yet in all that time we have not accumulated a sufficient surplus to feed the world for a single year.

In the light of these facts, the farmer asks why, if an occasional surplus is a good thing for every one else, it should result in a loss to him. In the interest, therefore, of society as well as of the farmer, we must contrive some method by which the surpluses of the very essentials of life shall become a benefit to him who produces them and not a burden.

The problem is how to attain this object. It is clear that the individual farmer cannot do it. If the producers of any farm commodity were completely organized, they might accomplish this very end.

COÖPERATIVE MARKETING

Organization of the farmers for the purpose of marketing their crops collectively is progressing. I believe that some day it will cover the entire field. Denmark has shown how, under the most adverse circumstances, it can transform the agriculture of a people. Wherever coöperative marketing is farthest advanced, either in the United States or abroad, there you find agriculture in its best estate; violent fluctuations in the markets eliminated; better prices to the producers without an increase in cost and sometimes with an actual decrease to the consumer; an approach to standardization of product; a more intelligent effort to

adjust production to probable demand; a finer and more satisfying community life.

It is doubtful, however, if the coöperatives of the staple farm products are ever sufficiently organized to take care of this ever-present problem of surplus unless some way be found by which the cost of handling the surplus is borne equally by all producers of the particular commodity.

If the producers of any farm product are only partly organized and attempt to take care of the surplus, the producers of that commodity who are not members of the coöperative receive full benefit of the improved price without bearing any burden incident to the surplus. To illustrate:

The tobacco coöperatives were very successful for a number of years. When farm prices broke in 1920, the tobacco growers were among the severest sufferers. Tobacco was selling far below cost of production. And then coöperative marketing associations were formed. Through their largely increased bargaining power these associations were able to sell the bulk of their crop at remunerative prices. To accomplish this it was necessary to withhold a surplus temporarily from the market. That entailed a necessary expense. The non-member, therefore, was able to avail himself of the better prices which the association had established without bearing any part of the burden of handling the surplus. And thus, though the members of the coöperatives received much larger returns than if they had not organized, the non-members profited even more.

It is difficult to maintain the *morale* of an organization when outsiders receive the benefits in a larger measure than do the members themselves. For this reason some of the tobacco coöperatives recently have found themselves in great difficulty.

COTTON AND CORN: SICK KINGS

Let us consider our cotton for a moment. We produce on an average about 60 per cent. of all the cotton in the world. The next largest producer is India, but India grows an inferior quality used principally in the Oriental trade. Without American cotton the mills of Europe would be idle and industrial chaos would come. Without American cotton England could hardly survive. And yet we have permitted the spinners of Europe largely to determine the price for this prime necessity of life.

Our newspapers inform us that the spinners of England, acting in a combination suggested and directed by one of the foremost English economists, now are buying their cotton in concert. It is reported that in this manner they purchased from the American market while the price was at its low point, not only cotton to meet their 1927 requirements, but enough to supply much of their needs for 1928. This is merely another illustration of buying competition eliminated—of “surplus control,” but in the interest of the buyer, not the producer.

During a large part of the time in the last half-century, cotton planters have been able to hold on only, as we are told, because of the unpaid labor of women and children in the field. And during all this time the English Government and the English spinners have spent millions yearly to open up new sources of supply, with no appreciable results. It is a stupendous thing to produce considerably more than half of so essential a commodity as cotton has come to be in the industrial world. It in itself should make a nation unique among the nations of the world. One would suppose that such an advantage would confer great prosperity upon the cotton farmers of the nation. Such, however, is not the fact.

We produce 70 per cent. of the world's corn—and corn is the most marvelous of all the cereals. There is relatively a small proportion of the earth's surface suited to the economic production of corn. It yields per acre more than double as much as any of the other cereals. It produces animal fats more cheaply than any other feed known; and we learned during the war how essential animal fats are in the diet of mankind. Though it is the newest of all the cereals it has already found a wide range of uses, and no one can set a limit to its possible future. Corn lands should be one of the nation's chief assets; yet they are now selling in the corn belt for but little more than the cost of improvements.

In the South we say cotton is king; in the Middle West it is corn we have crowned. But these royalties are buffeted about by the traders of the world. They have been made to yield immense profit to everyone but those who produce them. And all the while we have been marketing not alone these great staples of the North and South, but also each year a part of the fertility of the soil itself.

Some of us have thought we have seen an analogy between the occasional surplus of staple farm crops and the surplus credit resources of the banks before the adoption of the Federal Reserve System. The resources of the banks as a whole were adequate for the business of the country as a whole. It frequently happened, however, that an unusual demand at some particular place exceeded the resources of that community, while in other sections there were ample credit resources in excess of their need. The Federal Reserve System was designed, among other things, to mobilize the credit resources of those banks which had a surplus and to employ them where the credit resources were deficient. It sought to do in reference to space with surplus credit resources what should be accomplished in reference to time with the occasional surpluses of the farm.

FEDERAL FARM BOARD PROPOSED

We have therefore suggested a Federal Farm Board. We have proposed that such board should be vested with power of inquiring into certain facts. Those facts are: Is there a temporary surplus, or a surplus above domestic requirements, of some farm product? Does this surplus depress the price below cost of production with a reasonable profit? Are the growers sufficiently organized as to be fairly representative of all the producers of that product, and do they desire this assistance?

If the board finds that all of these questions must be answered "yes," it is then empowered to authorize the cooperative to take control of the surplus. The only aid from the Government which the cooperative would require would be that the Government should distribute, among all the producers of the commodity, the cost to the cooperative of handling the surplus.

Neither the Government nor the Government board would determine the price. Nor would even the cooperative itself "fix" the price in any other sense than industry generally determines prices. It, like every other industry, would study all the conditions affecting the particular commodity and from time to time decide upon a price which conditions would seem to warrant. It would simply enjoy the advantages which come from organized selling.

This principle—the basis of the much discussed Surplus Control bill—would sim-

ply enable farm groups to regulate the quantity of their product available at any time in the market, or in any particular market. Only excess supplies—the surplus—would be dealt with through the board. The bulk of the product would move without interference in its normal market channel. But certain costs and losses would result from handling the surplus if the benefits of a stabilized and protected market were realized for the whole crop. The proposal I am suggesting would meet these costs and losses, not from the Treasury, and not alone from the cooperative associations, but by the producers of all of the commodity that moves in trade.

WHAT WOULD HAVE SAVED THE COTTON PLANTER

Suppose the program I have outlined had been in operation last year. Again, we will take cotton as an illustration. The cotton cooperatives, through their power of distributing the cost of handling the surplus among all the producers, whether members of the cooperative or not, would have been in control of the situation. During the summer, when it was apparent that the crop would be somewhat larger than needed for the year's consumption, they would have invited representatives of the spinners into a conference. They would have discussed the question of price with them. It is quite conceivable that they might have agreed upon a price of, say, sixteen cents—for the spinners are not so much interested in a very low price as they are in a stable price. Having decided upon a price for middling cotton, they would have made an estimate of how much cotton they probably would be called upon to take off the market in order to maintain that price. Suppose it to have been 3,000,000 bales.

I have discussed this very matter with men familiar with the trade. No one thought it would be more than 3,000,000 bales. It is entirely probable, many think, that the price could have been stabilized by the purchase of a very much less amount. There are still others who think that the mere power upon the part of the cooperatives to do this without buying a bale of cotton would in itself largely accomplish this result.

Suppose, however, it had been necessary for the cooperatives to buy and hold 3,000,000 bales. This would represent an

investment of about \$240,000,000. The money needed for this would be largely raised through regular banking channels upon warehouse certificates—at least 75 per cent. There might remain \$60,000,000 needed, at the outside, to carry the surplus. If necessary the Government could safely lend this remainder. Its security would be perfect. There would be the cotton thus purchased, subject to the loan already made against it. The Farm Board would levy an equalization fee, which would be relatively small, sufficient to insure the coöperative against any loss which it might incur when it came to sell this cotton. Thus both the Government and the coöperative would be guaranteed against loss.

A leading financial journal of New York, *Commerce and Finance*, stated at that time that if the South could hold and finance the surplus, it "might easily mean a difference of 6 or 7 cents a pound in the average price of middling cotton for the season." Is there any simpler method by which this could be achieved than in the program I have outlined?

WHERE COÖPERATIVE SELLING MAY FAIL

I have used cotton as an illustration of what it seems would have happened if the principles of the legislation I have been discussing had been enacted into law. There is no reason why these principles could not be made to apply to all farm products. In some cases it may be more difficult than in others. The chief obstacle to more rapid organization of the farmers in the case of all commodities at present is the same—namely, that in the efforts of the coöperatives to stabilize the price level they incur certain costs.

The dairy farmers, to illustrate, must take the seasonal surplus while pasturage is lush and convert it into butter or cheese, which sells for less than the whole milk. This surplus is necessary. For, if there were no surplus during the months of rich pasture there would not be enough of milk products during the remainder of the year. The coöperatives find that by removing this seasonal surplus a better price obtains throughout the year. The improved price, however, benefits the non-members of the coöperative organization more than the members. They receive the improved price for all their product, while the members

alone bear the loss on that part which goes into by-products.

The recent experience of the lemon-growers of California is in point. More than 90 per cent. of all the lemons grown in California are grown by the members of the coöperative. Last year they produced more lemons than the market could absorb. The management found it necessary to take a third of the members' crops and convert that third into some form of by-product. By so doing it was able to maintain a fair price for the remainder of the crop. The non-members, however, received the full price for their entire crop, though that price was maintained by the action of the coöperative in disposing of a third of their own crop at a greatly reduced price. As a result, outside dealers undertook a campaign among the members to induce them to withdraw from the coöperative. It becomes difficult to maintain an organization under such circumstances.

Now, if all farm producers were given the power of stabilizing the market at or near the cost of production, in the way I have pointed out, this greatest of all obstacles to successful coöperative marketing enterprises would be removed. Nor is there anything revolutionary in this, if it be conceded that it is to the advantage of society as a whole to stabilize prices of farm products. It was not so long ago, in democratic America, when it was thought revolutionary and subversive of the liberty of the individual to establish common schools and distribute the cost among all within the particular area, whether they availed themselves of the school or not.

"RADICAL" IDEAS SOMETIMES ARE GOOD

We are all familiar with the principle upon which improvement districts of one kind and another rest. There is, we will suppose, a swamp in the community. Some of the progressive farmers of that community believe it would minister to health and to agriculture if the swamp were drained. Others are willing to endure the malaria which the swamp breeds and the uncertain crops the land yields. These latter may form a very large minority. Are they permitted to defeat this obvious improvement? By no means. A majority, or whatever proportion the laws may require, petition the authorities, and if a case

is made a district is established. The cost of that district, which is for the benefit of all, is distributed among all whether they wanted the improvement or not.

The proposal is radical, in a sense, because it goes to the root of the matter. That is exactly what the word *radical* means. But was not the Interstate Commerce Law thought radical when first proposed? It had the same opposition, from substantially the same sources, which farm-relief legislation has to-day. And yet who would be found anywhere to advocate its repeal? Indeed, some of the forces which were most active in opposition now give it full credit for the great prosperity which the railroads at present enjoy. The Federal Reserve Act was radical in exactly the same sense that this proposed farm-relief legislation is radical. It meant the revolution of the entire structure and processes of currency and credit. Some of the same forces which now applaud it as most beneficent legislation opposed it when it was before Congress, as radical and revolutionary.

MEETING THE EXPENSE

There must be substituted centralized selling agencies for each of the principal farm products, if we would bring agriculture into its proper relation with the modern industrial and commercial world. In this way farmers, too, can follow their products all the way or nearly all the way to the consumer, just as industry so largely does. In this way farmers will acquire a voice in determining the prices which they are to receive. Speculation will be largely eliminated in agricultural products as it has been in industrial products. By this method they can carry burdensome occasional surpluses without demoralization of the markets in the meantime. They can make the tariff effective just as industry does, by selling a relatively small surplus abroad in the world's markets, and maintaining a domestic price-level for domestic needs.

The organization which I have suggested will, of course, incur some expense. Particularly in crops like wheat, of which we have an exportable surplus and upon which import duties are levied. How shall this expense be borne? There are but two ways pointed out in all the discussion of the subject to which we have listened now for several years. One way is to take the money from the public treasury, and the

other is to make the commodity itself thus benefited bear the burden of the cost. The former suggestion, to have the Treasury bear the loss, partakes too much of the nature of a "dole" to appeal either to the American farmers or to the American public. Making some millions of our people the beneficiaries of a Treasury "dole" is an expedient fraught with danger.

The alternative suggestion, to make the commodity bear the burden of cost, employs the so-called equalization fee, much abused and more misunderstood. The proponents of that method say to the growers of all farm commodities:

"We propose to put you upon the same plane of advantage which other industries enjoy. If your commodity enjoys a protective tariff, we propose to give it the benefit of it, but you, like the manufacturer, at times will have to market your surplus in foreign markets below the American price-level, and if you do, you must stand that loss just as the manufacturers do when they sell abroad for less than at home.

"If you produce a commodity such as cotton or corn, of which America more nearly enjoys a monopoly than any other nation does of any of the chief products of the soil, we propose to confer upon you the power to secure a fair price for your product. In doing this, it may be necessary for you at times to carry a surplus from one year to another. This will be expensive. That expense, however, is incurred for all the growers of that particular commodity. And we expect those growers to meet the charge.

"If you produce some perishable product, as potatoes or lemons, and because of a particularly fruitful year there is a surplus which otherwise would depress the price to a point below cost of production, we are going to make it possible for you to take the surplus, manufacture it into some by-product and maintain a living price upon the greater part of your output. Your by-product will be sold at a loss, and that loss must be borne by the growers of that particular commodity and not paid for out of the Federal Treasury.

"Whatever you produce, however, we propose to give you, through the centralized selling agency which you yourselves shall have created, the power to have the same voice in determining the price of your products which other industries in this modern world have come to enjoy."

It is argued, however, that if a program of stabilization such as I have suggested were carried out, there would be greatly increased production, with a surplus so large as to become altogether unmanageable. Is there any basis for this fear? The argument of those who think so runs something like this: "The farmer is now producing at a loss, and still he produces more than the world presently needs. Hence low prices. If he were now receiving profitable prices he would produce vastly more, with further demoralization of prices."

OVER-PRODUCTION NOT LIKELY

There are, it seems to me, two vital defects in this line of reasoning. In the first place, the argument assumes that in agriculture, as in industry, unsatisfactory prices always result in reduced production. This is not so.

In industry only a small percentage of the cost of production is in overhead charges. By far the larger factor consists of wages and raw materials. When, therefore, the manufacturer finds himself accumulating a larger surplus than he thinks prudent, he can reduce his production as greatly as he may desire, with something like a corresponding reduction in the cost of operation of his plant.

Not so the farmer. The overhead charges of the farmer are the main items in cost of production and they do not materially change from year to year, whatever his acreage in crops. He furnishes for the most part his own labor. His taxes remain the same. His interest charges are the same. His equipment does not greatly vary. Therefore, when prices are low, he must increase his acreage of cash crops in order to meet his cash outlay, even though he knows he is not receiving cost of production for a single unit of his product. To illustrate, if the farmer's taxes and interest and the bare necessities of life for himself and his family require a cash outlay of \$2,000, and prices are low, he must push his acreage in cash crops to the limit, with the hope of securing the \$2,000 which stand between him and bankruptcy. Acting as an individual he cannot do otherwise. The more desperate, therefore, the financial situation of the farmer is, the more is he inclined to maximum production until he reaches the very end of his resources.

In the next place, any abnormal increase

in production would mean the employment of new capital in agriculture. As Sir Josiah Stamp points out, new capital will be tempted into agriculture only if the rewards there are larger than the rewards in other industries. It is not proposed by anyone, so far as I know, to change the situation so as to make the rewards in agriculture larger than they are in other fields. Indeed, if the farmers should receive no more than the mere cost of production they would be much better off than they are to-day. They certainly would be satisfied with a modest return upon their capital employed—a much smaller return than industry generally enjoys. Capital, therefore, would not be diverted from other activities to agriculture in that situation.

And then the argument proves too much. If it be true that the farmer will overproduce simply because he is getting for his product cost of production with some profit, it follows that the farmer must always sell his product at less than the cost of production. This cannot be so unless we are to revise completely our economics.

THE FARMER'S PROBLEM MUST BE SOLVED

It may be that there is a better solution of the problem than the one I have suggested. I am not insisting upon any particular remedy. I only say that there is a farm problem of the gravest importance, and that a solution must be found if we would preserve our civilization. There are many earnest men who believe there is no solution. I come across them with increasing frequency. They say that there has been always a conflict between rural and urban civilization; that in this conflict rural civilization always has gone down; that there is no reason why we should be an exception to the general rule; that a decaying agriculture always has marked the first stage in the decline of a nation, and that we are helpless in the grip of this relentless law of the rise and fall of nations.

I cannot follow them in their despair of finding some power somewhere which will arrest this decay. I have more faith in the capacity of society to save itself. Our civilization, has been marked by an increasing control of man over the forces of nature. So in the new era we shall learn how to make institutions respond to needs of men.

ENGLAND'S QUARREL WITH RUSSIA

DOES IT POINT TO EUROPEAN WAR?

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. Britain Acts

BY FAR the most important incident in recent weeks, and indeed one of the most far-reaching events of the past two years, has been the severance of relations between Great Britain and Soviet Russia. The consequences of this momentous episode may well dominate European and even Asiatic history for a long time to come. Moreover, it is well to perceive at the outset that what has taken place is in reality only one more detail in what has developed into a war between Britain and Bolshevism and may yet be transformed into a struggle between Russian Nationalism and the British Empire.

In addition, it is just as necessary to appreciate the fact that this incident—which has hardly attracted general attention in America at a moment when the press of two continents is justly celebrating the triumph of the gallant young American aviator in spanning the Atlantic—may transform the whole political situation of Europe itself. In fact, we are now in the presence of a crisis certainly more important than anything since the Ruhr occupation.

In view of its importance, therefore, I shall devote most of my time this month to the Anglo-Russian affair; and in dealing with it I shall discuss it, first, in its purely domestic British phases and then examine it in relation to European and Asiatic problems which are directly affected.

The actual rupture of commercial and quasi-diplomatic relations marks yet one more step in the confused and contradictory courses the several British cabinets have followed with respect of the Russian Revolution. All these several policies, too, are explicable only by examination of those conditions peculiar to all European countries but having no parallel with us. For, while

with the American Government and people Russian issues are purely matters of foreign significance, in practically every European country they are primarily domestic.

In the case of Great Britain, relations with Russia have two domestic consequences: From the moment of the Russian Revolution onward, and particularly since the close of the World War, the fortunes of the Soviet Republics have been followed with closest sympathy by the majority of the Labor Party, which is the official opposition. In addition, the question of opening Russian markets to British exports, and recovering the Russian source for cheap food, has been of vital importance.

Following the close of the World War, the Coalition Government then in power lent all its assistance to the several efforts to overthrow the revolutionary régime in Russia. The British fleet was employed in various adventures. The policy of Clemenceau during the Paris Peace Conference, to construct a *cordon sanitaire* to shut Russia off from Europe, found British support and approval.

Nevertheless, even during the Paris Peace Conference, Lloyd George gave indications of a wavering which was later to have significant consequences. The invitation to the Soviets to come to Prinkipo Island, near Constantinople, and discuss an adjustment with the Allies—the famous excursion of W. C. Bullitt and Lincoln Steffens to Moscow—supplied proof that Lloyd George was already aware of the growth of British sentiment favorable to recognition of the Russian Revolution.

But this first venture was immediately the cause of violent protest and criticism by the majority of the Coalition Cabinet, and Lloyd George had not merely to abandon the undertaking, but even to

repudiate all personal association with it. For the time being, all the hostility to Moscow was resumed. So far, the majority of the British people seemed to hold the sentiments toward Russia which have continuously prevailed in the United States.

Nevertheless, one by one, all the Allied efforts to promote a counter-revolution within Russia failed. Yudenitch, Denikine, and Kolchak, in turn, were defeated. More and more, too, Lloyd George became aware of the fact that both the Labor and the Liberal groups within Britain were becoming aroused against any further support of the Russian counter-revolution. Moreover, British soldiers and sailors, like the French, refused to serve against Russia.

Just a year after the termination of the Peace Conference, the Russian invasion of Poland put Europe in the presence of a real crisis. Following the early victories of Pilsudski and his Polish forces about Kiev, a Russian counter-offensive not merely defeated the Polish armies but approached Warsaw, and seemed to be on the point of carrying their invasion into the very heart of Central Europe.

This was, perhaps, the most critical moment in all the post-war period up to the present. Germany was still in the throes of domestic anarchy. Bela Kun's Reds had recently dominated Hungary. Bavaria had suffered a Red control. The misery and despair of the masses all over Europe at that moment seemed to open the way for the realization of the great dream of Lenin for a world revolution.

In this crisis of 1920, the French at once advocated support of Polish armies by Allied troops. But the Germans refused to permit troops to cross their territory. Local disturbances of German origin blocked the port of Danzig. Even more serious was the fact that the British Labor Unions threatened a general strike if the Government undertook to send soldiers to Poland.

Faced with this domestic crisis, Lloyd George sought to temporize. While the Bolshevik troops approached Warsaw, he tried to negotiate with them. He proposed to give them political recognition and commercial treaties, provided they would accept the so-called "ethnic frontier" of Poland and abandon their campaign. But the Bolsheviks were not seeking to recover lost provinces, they were playing for much higher stakes; in fact, they were out to dominate Europe.

Thanks to French aid, Poland rallied. The Bolshevik troops were defeated almost within sight of Warsaw, their armies disintegrated, and a few months later at Riga they accepted a peace which threw them back and restored the *cordon sanitaire*. As it turned out, this was to be the last serious effort of Russia in the west. Their new operations would be conducted in Asia. Nevertheless, immediately after Riga, they were able to destroy the Wrangel army in the Crimea and thus to establish their control of Russia.

In the following two years, Lloyd George was working in Britain to create a center party, which should draw strength from the moderate elements in both the Tory and Liberal parties. And he was at the same time flirting very openly with Labor elements, which, with increasing earnestness, argued for the recognition of the Russian Revolution. To restore Russia, both politically and economically, became a fixed detail of the Lloyd George policy.

Moreover, this policy was not merely based upon a desire to placate liberal and labor elements at home. It was also deliberately conceived to set a limit to French power, which had been enormously increased as a result of the rise of Poland after Riga. French domination of the Continent, which did violence to British interest and tradition, could, in Lloyd George's view, only be checked when Russia was restored to the rank and influence of a great power.

In 1922, therefore, Lloyd George made his great effort to bring Russia back. This effort took the form of a new international conference, ostensibly commercial in character, which assembled in Genoa in the spring. Russia was there represented, and Lloyd George had in mind all sorts of political as well as economic arrangements. But Genoa was promptly wrecked by the publication of a treaty between Russia and Germany, made concomitantly at Rapallo.

The announcement of this treaty aroused alarm in all the countries bordering upon Russia and Germany. France, Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania drew together, French influence was consolidated, not restricted, the Genoa Conference turned out a ghastly failure and Lloyd George's political fortunes at home were fatally compromised.

In the autumn of 1922, the Turkish return to the Straits and the threat of a

new war completed Lloyd George's ruin, and he was thrown out of office. The victories of Kemal had been in part aided by Russian contributions in money and material. In them one saw for the first time the new Russian policy which was to attack Europe through Asia. But the Tory Cabinet which returned to power was hostile to Russia, and for the moment all the Georgian policy of adjustment with the Soviets was dropped.

The new Tory Government, however,

was no more successful than its predecessor in dealing with France, and early in 1923 the invasion of the Ruhr took place. In the autumn a new general election in Britain insured a Labor Cabinet, and both the Labor Party and the Liberal groups which supported it accepted the program for Russian recognition, which was carried through soon after Ramsay MacDonald had taken office. Thus the whole policy of the Tory Government was completely reversed.

II. MacDonald and Baldwin

Although the new Labor Government recognized the Soviets, and sought to re-establish conditions of actual peace and normal economic exchange, in the end it was no more successful than its coalition and Tory predecessors. Despite the formal pledge given as a condition of resumption of diplomatic and commercial relations, Russian intrigue continued in and out of Britain. After a few months the intrigue within Britain led to incidents, then to an open scandal, and presently precipitated the fall of the Labor Government itself when the Liberals took alarm at Red activities.

The general election of the fall of 1924 gave Stanley Baldwin an enormous Tory majority and again the official attitude with respect of the Bolsheviks was changed. Nevertheless Baldwin temporized. He did not rescind the actual recognition, he did not even refuse admission or residence to the commercial delegation which had set out for London before MacDonald fell. On the contrary, he undertook a middle-of-the-road course, which aimed at obtaining commercial advantages in Russia while restricting Russian activities in Britain.

The failure of this policy was demonstrated in the spring of 1926, when the general strike broke in Britain and was followed by the only less menacing coal strike. In this great battle, the strikers were not merely supported by Soviet sympathy, but were also aided by Soviet funds. Moreover, while in the end the strikers were beaten, their defeat did not come until after Britain had sustained an economic disaster almost unprecedented in history.

Meantime, while Russia had been actively at work giving aid and comfort to strikers

in Britain, it had been just as busy organizing in China an attack upon the Far Eastern power and prestige of the British. Obviously the Chinese upheaval was not caused by the Russian Bolsheviks, but the fact of the upheaval supplied an opportunity to the Russians to strike Britain through China, as they had already struck at her through the Turkish Nationalist uprising of 1922.

Thus, in recent months, the British have been forced to face the fact of the complete failure of all their several Russian adventures. They failed originally in the attempts to crush the Russian Revolution, which were most considerable in 1919. But they have not been less completely unsuccessful in the various efforts at conciliation, which began with Prinkipo, and were repeated at Genoa and during the Lloyd George and Ramsay MacDonald régimes.

In all this period, while British trade in Russia has been insignificant, Russian hostility to Britain has been expressed in a number of operations both within and without the British Empire, which have been not only expensive but even disastrous. In China, in recent months, these Russian operations have fallen little short of actual war. Nor has there been any real concealment of the fact that the Soviets are deliberately carrying on a campaign against Britain all over the world, with the open design to promote its ruin.

Were it not for the fact that the World War has at one time crippled British finance and produced a war-weariness beyond exaggeration, it is impossible to believe that the various Russian attacks would not have led to war. But the British people are solidly against a new war, and there is no effective way in which

war could be made upon Russia in the present situation. Invasion is out of the question, blockade would have little value. Russia can and does strike Britain; but Britain has no apparent means of reprisal.

Nevertheless, it is patently impossible for a country continually to permit an open enemy to operate upon its own soil, or to continue diplomatic relations with a nation which in spirit and in purpose is at war with it. To be sure, actual severance of relations will mean a reduction of British trade with Russia, but this trade is relatively insignificant. Nor is it possible to mistake the fact that British endurance has reached the limit.

But an actual break with Russia must certainly accentuate the bitterness. It will serve to strengthen Russian purpose to attack, it will further compromise British position in China. Beyond everything else, it can hardly fail to bring to a head all the Russian intrigues which are looking toward an eventual attack through India. For, despite all the present activities of the Soviets in China and elsewhere, Soviet Moscow—like Czarist Petrograd a generation ago—has always calculated that the real avenue of attack upon Britain was through India.

China, in the larger sense, has been but an opening move in the great Asiatic game. To impair British prestige in China has been the Russian conception of the artillery preparation for the main attack in India. Although it is obvious that the Russians would be glad to extend and consolidate their hold upon China, they have always appreciated the fact that they might presently be expelled, that China, like Turkey, having used the Soviets against Europe, would in due course turn against them.

But the Russian purpose is to do the maximum of harm to Europe and, primarily, to Britain. In the Russian calculation, Britain is the citadel of European capitalism. And, in the Soviet mind, Britain has always been the enemy. While there have been hesitations and compromises and uncertainties in the British attitude and policy toward Russia, there has never been a similar lack of definiteness in the Soviet course. To cripple or even to ruin Britain, by supporting the Labor and radical elements within the British Islands and at the same time backing the Anti-British forces all over the world—this has been

the Russian policy consistently followed from 1920 to the present hour.

At the moment, the dominating fact in world affairs is the war which has been going on between Russia and Britain for nearly a decade. On the Russian side, the campaign has been carried on with utmost consistency. The Russians have always accepted any British concession which was offered, but they have never for a moment modified their purpose or lessened their activity. They have always known what they wanted, they have steadily stuck to their purpose.

This purpose is to destroy the strongest capitalistic state in Europe. Bolshevism has failed on the Continent. Its military strength was broken before Warsaw. Its propaganda force was crushed by the rapid financial and economic reintegration of Europe, following the settlement of the Ruhr War. The failure of the communistic experiment within Russia has, for the present, disillusioned the masses in all Continental countries. Nor is Russia itself, now, in a position to resume any great military operation.

On the other hand, it can take advantage of any national or international crisis to work for new chaos and fresh anarchy. Turkey in 1922 was an admirable instrument, China is to-day even better, India may to-morrow serve the same purpose. Peace with Russia is impossible, because those who rule Russia base their power upon the principle of the overthrow of capitalism in the world; and even temporary compromise between Britain and Russia is out of the question, because the Russians believe that British misfortunes and difficulties hold out the promise of success.

But, while there is only one opinion and one policy in Russia, since all control is vested in the hands of the Soviet dictatorship, there are two opinions and two conceptions in all European countries. The radicals everywhere are Pro-Russian, even British Labor has been strikingly sympathetic with the Revolution, although this sympathy led to the ruin of the Labor Government in 1924.

Americans, looking at the tangled and disastrous consequences of British indecision and weakness, are accustomed to explain this infirmity of purpose in terms of mistaken calculation. It is common to hear the statement that Britain in search of commercial advantages has suffered

political disaster. But this is too simple an explanation of British policy. There have always been many Britons who have favored the American attitude, and opposed all recognition. The difficulty has lain in the fact that the opposition party, which for a brief moment actually controlled, has taken an opposite view.

Whether Mr. Coolidge or Mr. Davis had been elected in 1924 the United States would not have recognized Russia. Whether the Republicans or Democrats win in 1928, our Russian policy will not be modified. Neither of our great parties inclines to sympathize with Moscow. Capital and organized labor in the United States are equally hostile to Moscow. No domestic political situation will influence American foreign policy in the Russian direction. But in Britain, France, Italy and Germany, relations with Russia have been made a domestic political issue. And in Great Britain, this fact has been responsible for a long series of disasters, which may not yet have terminated. There is the real secret of the situation. We Americans have not been wiser in our foreign policy, we have only been so fortunate in our domestic political situation that we have been able to pursue a wise and consistent foreign policy.

Again, it is essential to perceive that to-day the Soviets are under no illusion as to the strength of the United States. Did we share the difficulties which afflict Great Britain, Russian activity would be as great against us as against Britain. But we do not; within limits we are impregnable. Both our great parties are Anti-Bolshevist. No public opinion is sympathetic or even tolerant. No economic weakness or financial burden cripples us. Capital and Labor in the United States are not at war as in Britain, and as I have just said, Labor here is quite as hostile to Moscow as Capital.

The fundamental principle of Bolshevik strategy is to attack at the weak points. The general strike was an admirable opportunity to operate in Britain. The Chinese Nationalist uprising offered an even better opportunity in a more favorable field. And disaffection in India would be a further chance, certain to be seized upon. The Bolsheviks believe that if they can bring about the ruin of Britain, they will have won the first battle to destroy the capitalistic system in the world.

Sooner or later Britain will have to fight Soviet Russia, unless the Russian régime changes, which is exceedingly unlikely. But the British cannot fight Russia while Capital and Labor are divided at home on the Russian question. A war is inescapable, because no country can passively endure an attack, which not only is designed to ruin it, but continues to inflict colossal injuries upon it.

But Britain cannot make war upon Russia directly and alone. It must have allies, it must above all have a real line of approach. Not only must it, in the premises, have the support of France, Italy and Germany, but it must just as certainly operate through such countries as the Baltic States, Poland and Rumania. It must, in fact, organize the Continent against Russia under the Soviets, as it did against France under Napoleon, and against Germany under William II. But to-day it can do little, because it is palpably impossible to create a coalition in a war-weary Europe which does not see its own interests four-square with the British.

Before I turn to the European and Asiatic aspects of this Anglo-Russian conflict, however, I desire once more to emphasize the dual character of Soviet strategy. The French struggle in Morocco supplies an admirable illustration. The war with the Riffs was not provoked by the French. It was essentially a conflict between the Riffs and the Spanish. But it spilled over into the French Zone after the Spanish had been beaten. It is possible to exaggerate the amount of financial support, and the extent of Bolshevik propaganda, exercised against France in Morocco, but it is notorious that Moscow did what it could to make the military task hard.

At the same time Soviet money and intrigue were at work in France; and every effort was made to hamper the sending of troops, to corrupt the troops themselves, and to arouse the opposition in France in such fashion as to paralyze the military action, insure the triumph of the Riffs and bring about the loss of the great French protectorate. The Bolsheviks did not believe that the Riffs could defeat France, but they hoped that the combination of Riff military power and French domestic political agitation would do the trick.

Actually, Moscow failed and Morocco was saved for France. But in China the same strategy was employed more suc-

cessfully. Chinese Nationalism was inflamed by propaganda, the armies were supplied with munitions; and, at the same time, all the Labor and Communist elements in Britain were stimulated, so far as it was possible, to oppose the sending of troops to Shanghai. And this is precisely the problem which faces every European country which has, within its limits, a minority sympathetic with, and susceptible to, Bolshevik activity. It is the evil we escape practically completely, because we have no domestic division on the Bolshevik matter. It is an avenue of attack equally closed to the enemies of Moscow, because the Soviet dictatorship has suppressed all domestic opposition.

Only in the Philippines, where there is native unrest and a well-defined movement for independence, is it conceivable that Bolshevik agitation and propaganda might operate successfully against the United States. And it is at least significant, that

among the documents turned up by the British police in the London raid, were papers which suggested the programme of destruction by bombs of the American naval base at Cavite.

But while this circumstance, and other similar incidents in Mexico and elsewhere, calls attention to the natural and fundamental hostility of the Soviet to the American Government, none suggests any real peril, such as Soviet activity in China and India constitutes for the British and, indeed, such as Moscow's industry produces in all the native colonies of European peoples.

Nor is it within the bounds of possibility that the Bolsheviks could find, in American political parties or groups, any bases for their attack upon the government itself or upon the administration. Herein lies the real American immunity from Bolshevik attack—an immunity possessed by no other great power in the world.

III. European Consequences

Looking to Europe now, it must be perceived that the Anglo-Russian conflict in its latest phase transforms the whole situation, and in particular gives to the Germans at once an important, and a dangerous, position. Once more, as in the long past, there is at least the material out of which two separate groups of powers can be constructed. Instinctively Britain, faced by a direct Russian offensive, must undertake to draw to herself in Europe all possible allies.

From the British point of view, nothing could be more attractive than a unification of Europe against Soviet Russia. A common policy of hostility to the Reds would reduce them at once to political impotence, and in the long run tend to weaken Bolshevik control within Russia itself. And particularly important in any such combination would be the border states, Finland, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland and Rumania, as well as Turkey in Asia.

All these states, with the possible exception of Turkey, are under an immediate threat of Bolshevik attack, all are in part or wholly composed of former Russian territory. For each, the renaissance of imperial Russian rule would be only less perilous than the continuance of the existing order, precisely as long as domestic

differences crippled foreign activity. Were it conceivable that, in addition, Britain could enlist the adherence of France, Italy and Germany, she would have accomplished the isolation and frustration of Bolshevik power in Europe.

But at once the difficulty of any such combination is apparent. To enlist the support of Poland, an achievement not in itself impossible, would involve not merely the guarantee of Polish frontiers against Russia, but the similar insurance of those German boundaries which have never been accepted by any element of the German population. Thus, to back Poland, would be to alienate Germany. Moreover, in a minor degree, the dispute between Poland and Lithuania separates Poland and Lithuania, and would inevitably throw Lithuania into the anti-Polish camp.

The German Nationalists, now the most important single element in the German Cabinet, have always based their foreign policy on the conception of an ultimate coalition of Russia and Germany, and the suppression of Poland outright or the restriction of the new state to narrow limits. Detesting Bolshevism, and advocating the most drastic methods in dealing with Communism within the Reich, these "die hard" Germans have favored friendly

relations with Moscow, although perceiving that alliance must wait upon the transformation of Russia, itself.

In any event, in the present crisis the Nationalists, and indeed all Germans, may well see the opportunity to extract from Britain a price for German support, or even for benevolent neutrality. Germany might well demand that Britain bring about the early evacuation of the occupied Rhineland and the Sarre Basin, as the reward for German support in the Russian struggle.

But again, the house of cards crumbles: for to advocate the early evacuation of the Rhineland is to come into conflict with French policy. And to insist would be to appear in French eyes to play the German against the French game. Moreover, since France is the open ally of Poland, any British policy which strengthened Germany in the face of Poland and freed German hands for an eventual attack upon Poland, would arouse French anger.

Thus, in practice, the British are faced with the fact that in their Russian struggle they can have Franco-Polish assistance or they can have German, but they cannot have both; and to take help in one direction, is to rouse hostility in the other. And, it must be said, that while France is profoundly anti-Bolshevist in spirit, the memory of the Russian alliance is not forgotten; and France, like Germany, looks to the future with an exact appreciation of the potential value of a new Russia nationalistic and powerful.

Looking to Italy, too, the same difficulty arises. Both France and Italy are prepared to go very far in support of Britain, in return for a definite alliance. But for each, the outstanding value of the British alliance lies in the protection it would give it in the Mediterranean against the other. In the inland sea Britain holds the balance of power between two countries which are present, and unmistakably future, rivals.

Already Italy, at the instance of Britain it is whispered, has recognized Rumanian title to Bessarabia, anciently Russian. In the heat of the Anglo-Turkish dispute over Mosul, it was the British possession of the Italian card which brought Angora to terms. But, in all the recent angry incidents between Italy and France, British neutrality has been maintained, and not much real value would be gained by Britain if, in acquiring Italian support against Moscow, it alienated French.

Were Britain to seek to construct an Anglo-Italian-German combination against Russia, nothing is more certain than there would evolve a Franco-Polish-Czech-Serb combination, which would more and more coöperate with Moscow and, just as surely, bring in Turkey. And, of course one must say at once, that any such division is not only fantastic but far from the mind of any British statesman.

Nevertheless, British policy seems patently aiming at certain combinations. And, on the surface, it is fair to say that it appears that London is looking to the strengthening of the bonds between Paris and the British capital, while manifesting toward Poland, Rumania and all the border states an increasing sympathy and a degree of economic and financial interest. Along with this goes the obvious attempt to maintain and even expand Anglo-Italian friendship, but always with the clear indication that this must not have any anti-French character.

Meantime toward Germany, British policy is, at least temporarily, hardening. The Nationalist purpose to keep open the door to Moscow, and to revert to Bismarckian and Frederickian tradition in the matter of Russia, has been met by a growing British criticism of German Nationalists and a rapidly diminishing British support for the idea of any early evacuation of the Rhineland and the Sarre. If one has kept close watch on recent expressions of influential British newspapers, one cannot fail to have noted this growing coldness toward Germany, and this increasing measure of criticism.

Moreover, last month has seen the visit of the French President and Foreign Minister to London, in many of its circumstances recalling that historic exchange of visits between King Edward and President Loubet almost a quarter of a century ago, which proved the point of departure for the Triple Entente and the immediate foundation for the Anglo-French Entente. On the surface the visit was little more than a formal affair, but it started comment from one end of Europe to the other, and, perhaps significantly, was closely followed, not alone by the raid upon the Soviet House in London, but by rumors of Anglo-French association in a common anti-Bolshevist policy.

In all these rumors the amount of exaggeration is doubtless very great. Britain is not now in the situation to make such

alliances, or reach such understandings as marked all the period from 1904 to Armageddon. But, on the other hand, as Locarno itself disclosed, it is to the British mind impossible to revert to a condition of "splendid isolation." Nor is it less clear that after nine years of peace, the British are turning rather to a French than a German orientation.

This means, as German newspapers have been prompt to point out, that Britain recognizes that Germany has now reached the point in reintegration, which insures her recovery of her lost place in Europe at no distant date. She is to become once more the greatest land power. On the principle of the balance of power, Britain would then turn instinctively to France, and to the European mind this movement has begun. And at the very least, one must perceive that London has put Berlin on notice that German flirtation with Moscow will be met by British activity in Paris.

If Germany is prepared to become a West European power, to abandon all thought of any Russian alliance, even remote, to drop any policy of exploitation of British difficulties with Soviet Russia, then it remains possible that British influence may, as in the recent past, be thrown on the side of German aspirations for a speedy evacuation of the occupied territories, always provided that this can be attained with French assent. But as German Nationalism continues irreconcilable and presses for closer relations with Russia, British policy manifestly dismisses the evacuation question and emphasizes the French friendship.

All this is clearly perceived by Stresemann, whose policy looks to freeing Germany before undertaking ambitious policies. Left to himself, he would have avoided the whole Russian mess, confined his efforts to obtaining evacuation, continued to work in harmony with Chamberlain and Briand, permitted no German gesture which would have alarmed French public opinion or even temporarily compromised the work of Locarno. But unhappily no such freedom has been allowed the astute Foreign Secretary. The German Nationalists have shown no capacity for waiting, for doing one thing at a time. While they have talked about Bismarck, they have acted in accordance with the worst traditions of the post-Bismarckian era, and with inevitable results.

Yet, if the Russian attack upon Great Britain is to continue, if the war between the two countries is to go on, it must exercise a continuing influence upon European affairs and must inescapably tend to create Continental combinations. If British association with France endures, involving as it does the participation of the French allies, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, an eventual association of Germany and Italy, with some sort of Russian nuance, may well result.

To-day Europe is in full crisis. All the old combinations, both pre-war and post-war, have broken down. Nor can one say in honesty that, up to the present time, the League of Nations has succeeded in supplying a universal association to replace the older system of balanced groupings. On the other hand, no hard and fast combinations have taken form. Even the Little Entente, which for a moment exercised a great influence, backed by the military power of France, has broken up, although it survives in name still, as the conference of representatives last month revealed.

In the universal chaos certain tendencies are visible. France, Italy, and Germany are all to a degree turning over the possibility of new groupings. Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia naturally revolve about France. In the Balkans, Italy has sought, both in Rumania and in Hungary, new associations and has made significant treaties. The Italian activity in Albania has similarly disclosed Italian purpose.

But, in all this disorder, Britain and Russia remain the greatest free forces. About them, were it not for the Communist regime in the latter country, two groups would almost inevitably crystallize. And, at the moment, Germany and Italy are both sufficiently opportunist to be prepared to accept a British alliance with enthusiasm, but only at a price, which would infallibly mean the separation of France and Britain.

Such a commitment Britain is far from ready to make. To-day, French and British foreign policies are very close together and no great question divides the two peoples. We have come very far since the still recent days of the Ruhr. Both countries are equally committed to policies of peace, both are concerned not with modifying existing conditions to their own profit but in preserving their present

positions. They are essentially satiated and therefore *status quo* powers.

They can, therefore, come even more closely together and at least this is the present tendency. The visit of the French President, if it had no concrete consequences, did unmistakably symbolize the passing of the bitterness which developed in the post-war years, and brought both people back to a new recollection of the years of common effort in the conflict and of close coöperation in the years preceding the deluge. On this side, it must be reckoned of real importance and lasting significance.

Were Great Britain to-day as powerful as in the pre-war period, had its position at home and abroad been less compromised by the past ten years, this new revelation of Anglo-French solidarity might well give pause, particularly in Berlin. But the war, in its later consequences, has on the whole dealt a heavier blow to the British Empire than to any other surviving great power. Moreover, the domestic discord in Great Britain, of which the contemporary battle over the Labor Union legislation in Parliament is a striking example, has crippled England at home at precisely the moment when its interests abroad, in China, Egypt, and India, are most compromised.

Thus warfare between Russia and Great Britain, even accepting all the limitations the Soviet régime puts upon the great Slav nation, does not instantly draw European states to the British side. On the contrary, all are prepared to trade upon British necessities, and the Germans in particular see not only the political profits which I have mentioned, but the chance to replace Britain completely in a market which, however restricted now, must one day know an enormous expansion.

And, in all the present crisis, history oddly repeats itself. We are back in the late Victorian era, in the days of Kipling and of the Russian menace, when India was the objective of Czarist Russia and the "inevitable conflict" of the future was between Slav and Briton. Or is it not

at least conceivable that the throwback is actually to the Crimean time, when an Anglo-French alliance fought Russia on the Black Sea? All the storm and stress of the World War has passed, the issues which precipitated it have disappeared, and out of the turmoil an older controversy emerges unsettled.

So far, too, one must not minimize the extent of the Russian success, which under the Soviets has far outdistanced Czarist achievement. In Turkey, Osmanli Nationalism backed by Russian support has broken British influence and wrecked British prestige. The storm has extended to Egypt, where once more, in recent days, Egyptian Nationalism has come into collision with British imperialism. Far more considerable has been the Russian activity in China, and there British power, prosperity, and prestige have been dealt a shattering blow. Moreover, on the frontiers of India it is a matter of common knowledge that a new storm is gathering.

Were it conceivable that, in addition, Soviet intrigue could succeed in setting continental Europe by the ears, promoting a new international anarchy by setting up a new grouping of powers, by putting Germany and Britain at odds, by fostering Franco-Italian differences, by stimulating ancient grudges and by insuring new, then indeed there would be reason for new rejoicing in the Kremlin.

In any event, after a long period of progress, following the London Conference at which the Dawes Plan was made, in the summer of 1924, and culminating in the entrance of Germany into the League of Nations last autumn, which validated the Locarno agreements, the process of European restoration and reintegration has been, at least for a moment, interrupted, and there is a plain danger that the paralysis may continue and even spread. Europe made peace with Germany at and by Locarno, but that peace itself is now threatened as a consequence of the fact that Europe has so far failed to make peace with Soviet Russia, and the failure has opened new horizons of danger.





THE OPENING SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE AT GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

TRADE TOPICS DISCUSSED BY FORTY-SEVEN NATIONS

A REVIEW OF THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE,
HELD AT GENEVA, MAY 4 TO MAY 23, 1927

BY EDWARD J. MEHREN

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FOR three arduous weeks in May the representatives of forty-seven countries sat at Geneva in the International Economic Conference to analyze the world's economic ills and to agree, if possible, on the remedies. Most business-like it was on the whole, yet there was color; color, not in the sense of gold lace and decorations, which were entirely absent, but in intellectual quality, in quick turns of interest, in the stimulating clash of variant national points of view.

Not the least colorful and significant feature was the presence of the Russians, or as they prefer to call themselves, the representatives of the U. S. S. R., the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The Soviets have abstained for some time from international gatherings. Their presence was regarded as politically important for it

may start them back toward world fellowship. There was no killing of the fatted calf; it was just a fact, but a welcome fact.

And having come they furnished the most frequent topic of conference conversation. They were the "enfants terribles." Hardly had they arrived when they issued an ultimatum of withdrawal unless the close police protection—which they termed surveillance—was withdrawn. Then they raked the capitalist system fore and aft for its deficiencies; but in the next breath held out the olive branch, invited capital to the U. S. S. R., and declared that the two systems—private capitalism and state monopolism—could work together. They visited back and forth with the various delegations, they called in the press, they answered questions and made constant propaganda regarding the internal strides

of the Soviet Union. Finally, on the eve of adjournment, they again threatened withdrawal unless a resolution were adopted recognizing the co-existence of the two social systems, and the possibility of their working together.

The other delegations were resistant. A break seemed imminent, when Roland W. Boyden, of Boston, representing the International Chamber of Commerce, proposed a declaration to the effect that the interests of world economy would be served by co-operation among all economic systems, no matter what their nature; and the Bolsheviks remained in the conference until the happy close.

American Participation

Not less colorful was the presence of the American delegation. But here the color came not from any antics but from the universal appreciation of American participation by the representatives of other nations. We are the "darling of the Gods," economically, in the eyes of all other countries.

We had less to gain, they felt, than any one else; and so our presence was regarded as evidence of America's willingness to help. Helpfulness, too, was the attitude of the American delegates; they had no formula to offer, they could not and would not tell Europe what to do, they could merely cite American experience, under American conditions, in the various commercial, industrial and agricultural situations covered in the agenda. This fine position won no end of commendation, and America left the conference with her standing heightened in the eyes of the eminent business men, industrialists, economists, and agriculturists who were there.

International Pools or Cartels

Of the subjects on the agenda chief interest in America seemed to center on possible action concerning international pools or "cartels." Would there develop a European combination against America? Would European industrialists find in huge industrial pools a means of combating America's great productive efficiency and marketing strength?

The answer is that the views were so divergent that the international cartel must be regarded as still in the development stage. Further, the evidence of the documents prepared for the conference showed

that even the national cartel is not a permanently happy industrial agency; in fact, that it is likely to function well for only a short period.

Quite surprisingly, the Germans, believed to be the arch advocates of cartels, failed to show hot enthusiasm; they were conservative in their views, holding the cartel, whether national or international, to be not a basis for a permanent industrial structure but an expedient for meeting a temporary condition. On top of this is the rumor, fairly well substantiated, that already some of the participants in the international steel cartel formed last year are dissatisfied with their quotas.

The French seemed to place far more store by the international cartel than did the Germans and the English, while the Americans distinctly indicated that the cartel idea, because of its monopolistic significance and the probability of government coöperation and participation, was not endorsed by American public opinion. Our delegates admitted that the international cartel might have certain advantages, but they refrained from voting on the cartel resolutions because of the American point of view.

Labor and Consumers Represented

Right here let there be noted another colorful element—the presence of strong labor and consumer representations. They had their say emphatically and frequently. They demanded, whenever it was pertinent, that the interests of workers and consumers be protected; therefore, they declared for close control of national and international cartels.

Similarly they demanded—and found the whole assembly with them—that industrial cost-reduction methods should not exploit the worker. In all these demands the socialist and Christian trade unions, both ably represented, stood solidly together. The Christian group made an additional point that modern industrial methods should not crush out the manhood of man by making him a machine, but should respect, protect, and encourage his spiritual development and his personality.

While reference is made to the workers it might be noted that there was constant insistence by employers that the standard of living of the workers must be raised. This is a new note with European employers, as it is with us, and it proceeds, as with us,

not so much from humanitarian motives, though they are not absent, as from appreciation that higher standards of living call for higher consumption and, therefore, greater production. The statements were, nevertheless, sincere, and the doctrine of constantly increasing standards of living may be considered as having entered European industrial policy. Practice may not always square with theory, particularly when there are depressions like the present one in Europe, but the wide acceptance of the doctrine augurs well for its growing application in the Old World.

Rationalization—A New Term

Another outstanding note of the conference was the intense interest in "rationalization." The word is new in its industrial application and comes from Germany. It signifies all industrial mechanisms for reducing costs, such mechanisms as scientific management, waste reduction, simplification of varieties and replacement of hand labor by machinery and power. The Germans use the word to cover even the consolidation of industries, directed at plant specialization, more efficient buying, consolidated selling and reduction in overhead, but the conference in its definition did not include financial consolidation.

The intensity of interest in rationalization in Europe may well be compared to that which was experienced in the scientific management movement in America twenty years ago, when Taylor and Gantt and Harrington Emerson, and their work, were the talk of the day. In nearly every European country this subject is being attacked in its manifold phases through research institutions and associations.

At the conference it was often in the limelight, and for two days monopolized the time of the Committee on Industry. In the resolutions there is a statement of its advantages, and a recommendation that it be applied as one of the means of economic restoration. But there are important reservations to the effect that in its application the workers would not be made to suffer and that they should cooperate wherever rationalization touches them. The wisdom of these reservations is patent if one recalls the early opposition of labor to the scientific management movement in the United States. How much faster the movement would have gone if labor had been persuaded and convinced that the new methods

were not to be used to exploit them, and if their cooperation had been sought!

Europe is evidently at the threshold of intensive study of this whole problem, and the declarations of the conference may well give it a labor orientation that will have salutary results and increase the rapidity of its application.

Self-Interests Asserted

Naturally, and properly, the self-interests of different nations were strongly asserted. The picture could not have been complete without such presentations but, withal, there was more than a fair share of compromise. The ideal could not always be obtained in the resolutions, but considering the divergence of interests the conferees were well-nigh unanimous in stating that for a first discussion the results are highly satisfactory.

Europe's self-interest, it is commonly asserted, runs against that of the United States, and there was considerable surmise as to the attitude towards America. Would there be animosity, would there be criticism, would there be evidence, obvious or under clever concealment, of a European line-up against America?

It can be stated with positiveness that no animosity was shown, that criticism, except in one insignificant case, was absent and that no evidence could be detected of a line-up against the United States. Even in the most intimate sub-committee discussions, in drafting commissions, in informal conferences, America had the same treatment as Europeans among Europeans. That does not mean that the populations at home do not feel sharply towards us or that the Geneva delegates as business men would not like to get some of our rich trade.

It means that as business men to business men, Europeans met Americans as fair competitors, with respect, with regard, with desire for fair dealing and no underhand advantage. It was the same basis on which men get together in our own country in industrial and trade associations, uniting for the common good but individually trying to deserve a goodly share of business by excellence of product or service.

Diagnosis of World's Economic Ills

So much for the general and dominating features of the economic meeting. It remains to summarize the diagnosis of the world's ills and the remedies which the

assembled economic doctors proposed. Just in passing be it noted that somewhat over half of the delegates were business men, industrialists and economists, the others being present or former government officials; that the delegates did not have the right to bind their governments, and that this meeting was designed purposely as non-binding because it was felt that clarification of views was first needed and that this could best take place in an atmosphere of free discussion, unhampered by the fear of immediate obligations. Also, it should be noted, that the conference was called by the League of Nations and that both members and non-members of the League were invited to send representatives. America enjoyed with the Soviets the distinction of being the principal non-member nations represented.

The chief of the economic difficulties is that the world lacks sufficient purchasing power to absorb goods it is capable of producing. Therefore, men are out of work, others are partly employed and plants are partly or wholly idle.

The war destroyed capital, thus depriving the world of the purchasing power represented by income from investments, preventing plant improvement which would reduce production costs, and restricting European foreign investments, which would call for "capital goods" to be made by Europe's industries.

Out of the war, too, came the curtailment of exports to Russia and the breaking up of the Austro-Hungarian empire, with the consequent erection of 11,000 kilometers of new tariff wall. The breaking up of Austria-Hungary was very serious for Europe's economic well being. That empire had been a logical economic unit. It was split into seven parts, on racial grounds, but in entire disregard of economic considerations. The new nations in the sore distress of early post-war years, budding in national spirit, with idle workers crying for employment, tried to make themselves as self-sufficient as possible. New industries, whether economically logical or not, were started to employ the idle populations and were protected by tariff barriers. The result has been duplication of plants, with consequent heavy economic wastage.

Further, there is a disparity in price, compared to the 1913 base, between agricultural and raw products, on the one hand, and the products of industry, on the other,

the industrial goods index numbers being much higher than the others. Consequently agricultural and colonial populations have their purchasing power sharply curtailed.

The Remedies Prescribed

This, then, is the malady. What the remedies? They fall, in the resolutions of the conference, under three heads: commerce, industry and agriculture.

So numerous were the questions considered by the Committee on Commerce and so thoroughly were they handled that the report occupies thirteen legal-cap printed pages—a document deserving of the closest study of every American concerned with foreign trade.

Chief among the recommendations are that customs tariffs be simplified, that a standard tariff nomenclature be adopted, that tariffs be covered by long term commercial treaties and be not subject to frequent changes, which make impossible or greatly discourage long-time contracts; that hampering tariffs (the reference here being principally to Europe) be reduced, starting with those imposed to counteract the effects of war disturbances, and that direct and indirect subsidies be discontinued.

It is also recommended that commercial treaties contain the unconditional most-favored-nation clause in its broadest and most liberal form, that uniform interpretation of that clause be determined upon.

Dumping is declared harmful out of all proportion to the temporary advantage derived from cheap imports.

Industrial and Agricultural Questions

Under industry the major topics covered are industrial pools and rationalization, both of which have already been referred to. Suffice it to add that the workers' group advocated international control of international pools to prevent these pools from exploiting consumers and workers.

This proposal was rejected as impracticable and an interference with state sovereignty. The League of Nations, though, was asked to study the operation of international pools, in collaboration with the various governments, and to publish data on their effects on technical progress, development of production, conditions of labor, and prices. Such publicity is regarded as a means, on the one hand, of winning

support for pools operated in the public interest and, on the other hand, of preventing the growth of abuses.

An additional recommendation of the Committee on Industry covered the compilation of international industrial statistics on the supply of raw materials, output, stocks, prices, wages, employment, etc., a beginning to be made with those basic raw materials in which a world shortage is anticipated.

Similar broad statistics were urged by the Committee on Agriculture for agricultural products, both classes of statistics evidently being necessary for intelligent guidance of industrial and agricultural production and marketing.

Recommendations of the Committee on Agriculture were based largely on the principle of the restoration of an equilibrium in purchasing power between the returns to industry and to agriculture, otherwise agricultural production may be so curtailed as to constitute a serious menace to the welfare of mankind. Besides the statistical work above referred to, the recommendations on agriculture call for adoption of scientific organization of agricultural production and marketing, further development and wider application of improved technical methods and a standard method of farm accounting. Finally, there was advocated a broad inquiry into the possibilities of development of agriculture, the distribution of land and systems of exploitation, the relation of agricultural to industrial conditions and prices—in fact, of the economic, social, financial and technical conditions of agriculture, the study of which will permit further progress to be made.

Results to Be Expected

An appraisal of the results will vary with the individual outlook. In Geneva there was a goodly amount of satisfaction. The agenda was long, the problems complex, the national interests on many points widely variant. Agreement was reached

on many items, and with the continued work thereon of the International Chamber of Commerce and other interested international bodies, such as the International Management Institute; with the machinery in the League of Nations and the International Labor Office for the accumulation of suggested data and statistics, and, finally, with the convening of conferences of ministers to discuss the recommendations, action should eventually result. Too speedy results should not be expected. The problems are such that even within national boundaries their solution would be time-consuming; how much more so when international aspects are involved!

But there is this definite gain immediately; the world now knows its economic ills; it knows the remedies, so far as pre-eminent men were able to agree upon them. There is thus established a base from which to build. Further, the public international expression of confidence in the diagnosis, and the expression of faith in the effectiveness of the proposed remedies will be powerful aids in the hands of ministries in advancing sound economic legislation and resisting the unsound. The Geneva results will be a norm of reference for quite a few years.

Not all of the world's economic difficulties were surveyed (attention to the economics of distribution, for example, being almost ignored), nor can a rapidly changing situation be covered for long by present proposals. But a start has been well made. As the Rt. Hon. Walter Runciman, of London, put it, "Those who are concerned to maintain business prosperity in all countries are convinced that a mutual understanding in international economic and business problems is the surest guarantee for a growing volume of trade and for the maintenance of the higher standards of life and comfort, which are the legitimate aspirations of modern democracy."

This mutual understanding of conditions as they now are may be said to have been established at Geneva.



THE FARMER'S TAX BURDEN

BY ROBERT STEWART

(Dean of the College of Agriculture, University of Nevada)

IN 1920, there were 33,064,737 males over ten years of age in gainful occupations in the United States. Twenty-nine per cent. of this number, or 9,869,030, were employed in agriculture, and they received only 13.8 per cent. of the national income. It required the labor of 2.5 male workers in agriculture to secure the same proportion of the national income as one male worker in other lines of human endeavor! Apparently the farmer does not receive anywhere near as adequate return for his labor and effort as do others engaged in gainful occupation. *It is quite evident, therefore, that there is a farm problem.* What is the cause of the unfortunate condition? It undoubtedly is due to a number of circumstances and the blame can not be placed upon any single factor.

Taxes High—Earnings Low

Certainly one of the contributing causes for this condition is the excessive and unjust taxation on farm property. The tax burden on the farmer has become heavy to bear and in some cases almost confiscatory. In 1913 taxes were about one-tenth of all farm receipts, less other expenses, while in 1921 they were about one-third of farm receipts. In 1913 on 155 farms in Indiana, Ohio and Wisconsin the farm income—including owner's labor, profit, interest on capital and taxes—amounted to \$1,147 per farm. Taxes took \$112 per farm, or 9.8 per cent. of the gross income. In 1921, on these same farms the gross income was \$771 per farm. Of this sum taxes took \$253 per farm, or 33 per cent.!

In 1914 the general property tax paid by farmers of the United States amounted to \$344,000,000, roughly equal to two-fifths of the value of the wheat crop that year. The general property tax paid by farmers in 1922 was \$797,000,000, approximately equal to the total value of that year's entire wheat crop. In 1925-26 taxes on agriculture amounted to \$890,000,000.

In 1881 in Missouri, farm land-tax amounted to 8 cents per acre, while in 1924 it was 40 cents. In North Dakota in 1916 farmers paid 23 cents per acre, while in 1924 they paid 48 cents. In Texas in 1914 farmers paid 9 cents per acre, while in 1923 they paid 20 cents.

Farm taxes are chiefly general property taxes levied by State and local units on the basis of capital value, irrespective of current farm earnings. Few farmers pay income-tax: only twenty-nine farmers out of every thousand paid income-tax in 1923. Farm taxes can not be shifted to the consumer of farm products, as is the case with other manufactured products, since the farmer has no influence in fixing prices. Such taxes, therefore, when excessive, have a more depressing effect than do such taxes in almost any other class of human endeavor.

In 1922 local taxes took 59.6 per cent. of the rents from twenty-three farms in Monroe County, Indiana. In North Dakota farm taxes took 83 per cent. of the rents on sixty-three farms studied in 1923. In 1924 many farmers in all parts of the country failed to "make their taxes!"

Equal Distribution of Taxes Needed

One of the most important factors in the excessive taxation on agriculture is the tendency in many States to construct roads and improve local schools at the expense of the general property tax.

Eighty to ninety per cent. of the farm's taxes are for expenses within the county, and the largest items are for good roads and better schools.

It is essential that we have good roads, and schools, and efficient public service, but the cost of these public necessities *should be equally distributed.* It is as impossible to reduce taxes to the level of ten years ago as it is impossible to stop progress in any field of human endeavor. The cost of doing business now is greater than then in all lines of work, even in local and State

government. Of course, all waste and unnecessary expense must be discarded. But the automobile has created a demand for good roads which must be met.

Federal Taxes Reduced; Local Taxes Increased

The war placed unusual expenses on the national Government which were met in part by taxation and in part by bond issue. With the close of the war these demands ceased, and as a consequence federal taxes could be and were reduced. Since the war State and local taxes have increased.

The statement is frequently made by those high in authority—and endorsed by many writers on economic subjects—that since the close of the war the national Government has made strenuous efforts to reduce taxes while State and local governments have increased taxation at an alarming rate, due to extravagant expenditures and waste. Such a statement is entirely misleading and befores the issue.

Hon. Martin B. Madden, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives, says: "Prior to the war the annual cost of the national Government amounted to about a billion dollars. In 1919, the year after the close of the war, the cost amounted to nineteen billions. That has been reduced until now it amounts annually to but three and one-half billion dollars."

President Coolidge says: "Out of an income of about \$60,000,000,000 the people pay \$7,500,000,000 in taxes. . . . Of this amount the national Government collects \$3,200,000,000 and the State and local governments \$4,300,000,000. The national and local governments ought to be unremitting in their efforts to reduce expenditures and pay their debts. *This the national Government is earnestly seeking to do.*"

Owing to the war demands the expenses of the federal Government increased enormously. The ordinary disbursements in 1914 were \$700,254,490. Due to extraordinary demands of the war the disbursements rose to \$15,365,362,742 in 1919. This sum was raised in part by taxation and in part by bond issues.

In 1925 the ordinary disbursements of the Government had dropped to \$3,529,643,000, due to the falling off in the extraordinary war demands. Although the war was ended more than seven years ago, the ordinary expenditures of the national Government

are now actually *five* times what they were in 1914, while State and local taxes are approximately only twice what they were. Evidently the cost of doing business, even in the national Government, is much greater now than before the war.

The decrease in federal taxation is due entirely to the decrease in abnormal demands for carrying on a war. Most of the States and local units had no such war-time needs to meet. In fact, they deferred necessary expenditures for roads and buildings, at the request of the national Government, in order to release necessary surplus of material for the government use.

New Demands for Local Improvements

It was only after the close of the war that abnormal demands were made on State and local units, primarily for good roads and increased facilities for education. This demand was emphasized by the extraordinary increase in the number of automobiles and the marked increased interest in education. The number of automobiles in 1914 was 3,690,857, but ten years later it was 19,843,936.

The attendance in land-grant colleges in 1914 was 60,000, while in 1924 it was 120,000. Other institutions and schools increased in like proportion.

The demand for these improvements was most easily met by borrowing money through the issuing of local tax-exempt securities, facilitated by the fact that the high national surtax on incomes forced money into such issues of State and local governments. It is no wonder that by 1924 there were \$12,521,000,000 such bonds outstanding, or that \$1,432,000,000 more were issued in 1924, \$1,258,000,000 in 1925, and \$1,000,000,000 in 1926.

Waste Must Be Eliminated

Surely no one will suggest, however, that we go backward in our forward-looking programs for good roads and better schools. The automobile is so universally used in America that the entire people demand good roads. The war so emphasized the seriousness of lack of education that all our people are a unit in demanding better educational facilities, none more emphatically than the farmer himself.

In view of the fact that the ordinary expenditures of the national Government are now five times what they were in 1914, perhaps the State and local governments

should be commended for keeping down their expenses to only about twice what they were in 1914. It is easy to pick out and emphasize isolated incidents of extreme extravagance and waste. Of course a small county school district having only thirty-six pupils, which issues bonds for the construction of a gymnasium, cannot be justified by the fact that two-thirds of the entire expense must be borne by a public utility which happens to be located in the district.

All waste in the expenditure of tax-money must be checked and eliminated, and all unnecessary expense must be discarded. Still the demands will be excessively high for many years to come, as compared with previous days. No need to hope for reduced taxation, desirable though this may be. The solution must come about in other ways.

A Fair Tax System Necessary

An honest, impartial, non-political study of State and local tax-systems must be undertaken and an equitable system of taxation must be formulated for the several States which will fairly distribute the tax-burden—such a system as that proposed by Secretary Mellon for the national Government: "A sound tax policy must take into consideration three factors. It must produce sufficient revenue for the Government; it must lessen, so far as possible, the burden of taxation on those least able to bear it; and it must remove those influences which might retard the continued steady development of business and industry on which, in the last analysis, so much of our prosperity depends."

The development of such a system of taxation is slowly being evolved in some States, particularly with respect to the burden of road construction, notably in Virginia and Tennessee. In Virginia two years ago it was proposed to float a gigantic bond issue to construct a system of modern roads. Powerful opposition developed, especially among the farmers. They saw in the proposed bond issue certainty of

increased taxation to meet interest charges and for liquidation. The proposal was defeated in a referendum. Farmers' leaders claimed that good roads could and would be constructed without aid of such a bond issue. According to the old tax law in Virginia, both the State and county taxed land and also personal property.

The State renounced all right to tax land values. Only the counties now have this right. The State reserved the right to tax income, securities, and inheritances.

For road construction a tax of $4\frac{1}{2}$ cents per gallon was placed on gasoline. The license fee for automobiles was based on weight instead of horsepower. This tax has produced \$25,500,000 for State highway construction and maintenance during 1926-1927, and \$6,500,000 for county road construction and maintenance!

A similar condition has developed in Tennessee. Prior to 1923 roads there were supported either by private capital as turn-pikes and toll-gates or from a general property tax. Roads were notoriously poor and Tennessee was avoided by tourists. In 1923 the roads were taken over by the State Highway Department. A definite plan was evolved for their support by a tax on gasoline and a registration tax on automobiles. Such taxes net the State \$4,000,000 annually on the sale of gasoline and \$3,500,000 on the registration of automobiles. Unfortunately, the counties are still required to make contributions for road construction from the issue of bonds or a general property tax.

The tax on gasoline and automobiles for road construction and maintenance is entirely fair. It places the burden for highway construction where it belongs, on the automobile and the user of the highway, and not, as before, on farm land irrespective of its ability to pay.

Unfortunately, there are still many States in which this type of taxation is vigorously resisted, principally by the people in the urban centers, notably in New York, New Jersey, and Illinois.



WHAT A BRITISH TAXPAYER THINKS ABOUT

BY ALZADA COMSTOCK

(Professor of Economics, Mount Holyoke College)

THE voice of the British taxpayer is again raised in protest against his lot. Never suppressed for long, he has been stimulated to make his difficulties known by the presentation of Mr. Winston Churchill's budget for 1927-28. Since he is the most intelligent as well as the most vocal of post-war taxpayers, he deserves a hearing.

Debt Payments and Defense

Well-informed as he is, the British taxpayer is not wholly logical in the twist which he gives to the budget discussions. He makes his loudest attack against the burden which the debt payments to the United States involve, ignoring or forgetting the fact that they amount to only about 4 per cent. of the budget. He passes over in silence the further fact that Great Britain's fighting services—the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force—cost nearly three times as much, and cost nearly three times as much per capita as defense costs the United States.

Complete impartiality should not be expected, however, of a citizen who is so heavily burdened. If emotion rather than pure logic inspires his public statements, it is because he has suffered long. Per capita taxation in Great Britain is far ahead of that in any other country, and it probably stands ahead even when allowance is made for the different levels of national income.

The Colwyn Committee

The extent to which the British subject must yield up his income to his Government was explored by the Colwyn Debt Committee, and shown in the report which that committee has recently issued. This body, properly known as the Committee on National Debt and Taxation, was appointed in 1924 by the Chancellor of the

Exchequer "to consider and report on the national debt and on the incidence of existing taxation, with special reference to their effect on trade, industry, employment and national credit." Lord Colwyn was made chairman, and Sir Josiah Stamp and Sir Arthur Balfour were among the members. Majority and minority reports have been issued in one official document by His Majesty's Stationery Office.

The contribution of a married taxpayer with three children under sixteen is given as follows by the Debt Committee (British pounds here being translated into American dollars for the reader's convenience):

Percentage of income taken by taxation where income is wholly earned

<i>Income 1925-26 (in dollars)</i>	<i>Direct taxation</i>	<i>Indirect taxation</i>	<i>Total</i>
500.....	—	11.9	11.9
750.....	—	11.6	11.6
1,000.....	—	10.2	10.2
2,500.....	2.0	4.2	6.2
5,000.....	8.1	2.9	11.0
10,000.....	13.2	2.0	15.2
25,000.....	21.9	1.3	23.2
50,000.....	30.0	1.2	31.2
100,000.....	36.9	0.6	37.5
250,000.....	44.2	0.2	44.4

The Poor Man's Burden

The figures are startling, and they support the Englishman's contention that the post-war period is treating him rather badly. Ten to twelve per cent. taken by the Government from the smallest incomes leaves very little. All up and down the scale the figures show a reduction from 1923-24, and they are smaller than those for incomes which are derived in part from investments; but they are still high enough to raise the question of how long the ordinary man can keep it up.

The British taxpayer with a small income pays his taxes in a way that is peculiar to his class. Like his fellows in all modern

countries he is exempt from the income tax, but he pays relatively much more in indirect taxes than his prosperous neighbor pays—a tenth or more of his income, as compared with a twenty-fifth for the man who is getting the equivalent of \$2,500 a year.

For the American who is learning to be sympathetic with the post-war burdens of the British, a further scrutiny of the Colwyn committee's figures offers certain puzzles. They show that, while the taxpayer below the income-tax line pays from an eighth to a tenth of his income to the Government in the form of indirect taxes, about three-fifths of those taxes are paid by way of alcoholic drinks. The next in importance is the tobacco tax, which accounts for about one-fourth of the poor man's taxes; and the others are the sugar duty, the tax on tea, and taxes on miscellaneous commodities.

From the American point of view the greater part of these taxes is optional; that is, if a man finds his taxes oppressive he need not drink so much. You cannot avoid the income tax, but you can go without part of your beer. It must be understood that the British workingman holds that a fair amount of beer is a necessity, and he sees nothing voluntary in that tax. He feels much the same way about the tobacco tax.

Income Taxes in England and America

The tax about which the Englishman feels most bitter is the income tax. In this his instinct is sure. It is the most important tax from the point of view of the budget, for it provides the Government with nearly 40 per cent. of its funds. It is the heaviest tax for individuals who earn more than a bare subsistence.

The contrast of the English tax with the American tax is almost unbelievable in its results. An American man with an income of \$5,000 which he earns, married, and with three children, pays a little more than \$4 income tax. An Englishman in the same circumstances pays about \$400, or one hundred times as much.

It is this contrast which makes the dose of the American debt payments a particularly bitter one in the mouth of the Englishman of the middle classes. It is not pleasant to be paying taxes a hundred times as heavy as those of your neighbor across the way, and to be paying him interest on a debt in the bargain. When the English say, as they frequently do, that the payments to the United States add sixpence on the in-

come tax—they reckon the income-tax rate as so many shillings in the pound, instead of a percentage—they are no more logical than if they might be speaking of a fraction added to the price of a glass of beer; but they are instinctively emphasizing the point at which their sense of injustice is sharpest.

The Churchill Budget

In a situation like this, the Chancellor of the Exchequer has the position of one who explodes a small bomb when he presents his budget in the House of Commons. For weeks before the budget speech is made, the most alarming question, and the one most frequently asked is, "Must the Chancellor of the Exchequer put sixpence on the income tax?" If the decisive Monday in April passes, as it has this year, without such increases, the prices of securities and the other trade indices promptly respond.

The public has regarded Mr. Churchill's budget for 1927-28 as a masterpiece of ingenuity. Faced with a deficit of £36,000,000, the Chancellor avoided the dreaded increase in the income tax and all other increases which might alarm the distressed taxpayers.

This was his device: He disposed a number of additional taxes in spots where they would scarcely be noticed, on wines, matches, translucent pottery, and imported unmanufactured tobacco; slipped in a little more of his coveted protection to British industry by extending the McKenna duties of 33.3 per cent. on automobiles to automobile tires; juggled landlords' property tax payments so as to push some of them ahead into this year's budget; rifled the road fund surplus; promised a number of improvements in methods of collection; and emerged triumphant.

An ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Philip Snowden, rose from his seat to call Mr. Churchill, with the liberty permitted in the House of Commons, "a condemned criminal who has artfully secured a reprieve," and to characterize his offering as "a profligate and audacious budget." This was the verdict of a political opponent, however, rather than the opinion of the majority of the taxpayers. They, if the testimony of the press and the course of business are to be taken as evidence, simply welcome the relief from uncertainty and refuse to cross the bridge which leads to next year's budget until it is in sight.

The British taxpayer's head is bloody but unbowed. He refuses to admit that he can support the present burden; he remains unreconciled to the terms of the debt settlement with America, and will hearken to no argument which diverts the emphasis to

the internal debt or to payments due Great Britain; he sends delegations to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to hammer home his arguments. Like the Englishman of—tradition, he "doesn't know when he is beaten." Perhaps, therefore, he never will be beaten.

THE HAPPY AMERICAN TAXPAYER

WHILE the British taxpayer has good reason to feel sorry for himself, as Miss Comstock has demonstrated in the article above, the American taxpayer has occasion only to be pleased. His national Government practises an economy which, if it does not actually decrease the sum of government bills, is most praiseworthy in view of the rising cost of government. And as for income taxes—well, there is no comparison.

At least so thinks Ogden L. Mills, recently candidate for Governor Smith's office, and now Under-Secretary of the Treasury. The British poor man may be hard hit by the tax on beer; the British white collar man may pay nearly a tenth of his earnings in income tax. But not the American. Take his income tax, of which Mr. Mills writes in *Nation's Business* (June):

"According to preliminary returns, .29 of 1 per cent. of our population pay over 95 per cent. of the individual income tax; 17 per cent. pay less than 5 per cent., and the remaining 82 per cent. pay no income tax at all." Nor is that all. In the lower brackets the tax is very low, indeed: "According to the returns for the calendar year 1925, the average tax upon those returning net income of from \$5,000 to \$10,000 was .58 of 1 per cent."

To drive home his point, Mr. Mills quotes the record. Under the 1918 law, a married man without dependents and without deductions, with a net income of \$4,000, paid \$80 in taxes; under the 1921 law, he paid \$60; under the 1924 law, \$22.50; and under the 1926 law, \$5.63.

It is the poor rich man, Mr. Mills implies, who is hard hit, and that by having his taxes cut. "It is interesting to note," he says, "that the reduction of very high surtax rates was followed immediately by a notable increase in the number of individuals reporting in each class. Thus, the number

of returns on income in excess of \$100,000 increased 68 per cent.; in excess of \$300,000, 104 per cent.; and in excess of \$1,000,000, over 179 per cent. This was accompanied by an increase in taxes paid by these groups."

As yet it is too early to say, "We told you so," Mr. Mills believes, since our current prosperity is a weighty factor in accounting for this increase. "But certainly the charge that the interests of the Treasury were being sacrificed in the interests of the rich has collapsed under the weight of its absurdity."

It is the economy program of the Administration which has brought about the happy position of the American taxpayer. The grand total of all expenditures other than public debt retirements, but including interest on the public debt, was lower in 1924 than in 1923. Since then it has risen gradually. But it must be remembered, Mr. Mills argues, that at the same time there were all manner of new burdens to be shouldered, including one item of \$200,000,000 a year for veterans of the World War. Moreover, the expenses of our State and city governments have jumped sharply upward, while the Federal bill rises only slightly under the Administration's restraining hand.

Only one thing spoils the picture: the corporation tax is out of line with the rest. What with taxes paid to Washington, to States and to municipalities, the unfortunate corporations bear a heavy burden. But since they seem prosperous none the less, Mr. Mills worries not so much about them as about their shareholders. The tax of the now widespread small stockholder falls in the lower brackets. Were his income earned, it would be taxed at one or two per cent. But through the corporation his share in their income is now taxed 13½ per cent.

All in all, however—as Mr. Mills sees it—the American taxpayer is pretty well off.

CALIFORNIA OF THE ENGINEER

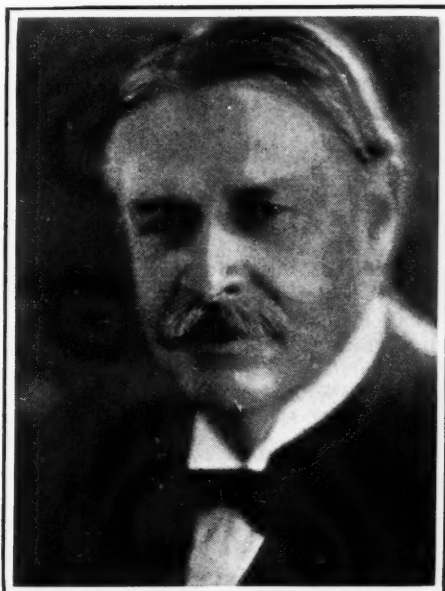
BY RICHARD E. SMITH

ON JULY 1, 1769, Junipero Serra, Franciscan missionary, raised the Cross in San Diego. Shortly after the religious ceremonies were concluded, a detail of men was sent up the river to select a location for a dam and to lay the course for the simple aqueduct which was to furnish water to the new settlement. This was probably the first engineering venture in the State of California.

On June 4, 1927, the University of Southern California awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Engineering to George C. Ward, in recognition of his distinguished practical services to the Southwest. Not only is this a personal honor to a man; it is a tribute also to his profession which is now skilfully finishing the work so bravely started by Padre Junipero seven years before the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

That California through which Junipero Serra walked his weary miles was blessed with natural beauty, a fertile but arid soil, a mild climate—and little else. About the missions were limited areas of land which could be watered directly from the creeks. The rest of the country consisted of those rugged mountains which delayed California's progress for a century, and sweeping plains which were practically desert, furnishing favorable pasturage for herds in good years and a dry resting place for those who died during periods of drouth. Cattle were raised for their hides, the only article to be exported in any large amount. Social intercourse was decidedly limited. Life was dull and ambition could not have thrived if it had been born.

Man cannot claim all the credit for the great transformation that has taken place, for two generous gifts of Nature served to fire the imagination of America's adventurers and richly rewarded many of those who responded to the call. These were gold and oil. There was also "white coal," the Westerner's term for the snow from



DR. GEORGE C. WARD

(To whom the University of Southern California has awarded the degree of Doctor of Engineering)

which electric power is produced through the skill of the engineer.

And now a man preëminent in that field receives the degree which is the rarest of all honors given by American universities. According to the records for the latest year compiled, 700 honorary degrees were given, of which only seven were Doctor of Engineering. Only once before has this been granted by the University of Southern California.

Throughout his career the name of George C. Ward is found interlinked with the story of the Huntingtons—first with Collis P. and later with Henry E., who, until his death on May 23, was a director of the Southern California Edison Company of Los Angeles, of which Ward is vice-president in charge of construction and operation.

As the name of Huntington is found connected with railroading many years before it appears in any electrical directory, so the name of Ward is disclosed when the history of the Mohawk and Malone Railroad is examined. That road was built to provide easy transportation between Utica and Montreal. The job of reconnaissance fell to Ward, who was soon appointed engineer in charge of location and construction. He previously had a successful record as an engineer with several other eastern railroads, and also as a designer and builder of iron bridges.

Later Ward was chief engineer on the Raquette Lake Railway, in the Adirondacks. Collis P. Huntington was president of this road, and he became interested in the work of Ward, as showing great ability as an engineer and remarkable energy as the director of construction crews. This association continued until the death of Collis P. Huntington, after which Ward became engineering adviser to Henry E. Huntington, who had made a record on his own account and had become the operating genius in more extensive ventures when his uncle, Collis P. Huntington, passed away.

Transmitting Water Power 250 Miles

In the early days of the twentieth century, Henry E. Huntington saw the possibilities of a great empire in Southern California, which at that time needed only an adequate system of transportation to become the goal of thousands of home-seekers. Out of this came two splendid transportation systems: the Los Angeles Railway, operating in the congested area of the Angel City, and the Pacific Electric Railway, whose lines now cover most of the southern section of the State and provide both passenger and freight service. In all of this Ward had his hand.

Anticipating the need for a greater power supply for these electric roads, H. E. Huntington acquired water rights on the San Joaquin River, 250 miles north of Los Angeles, and gave the commission for building power plants and bringing their product to the southern market to Ward, who had recently been made vice-president of the Pacific Light and Power Corporation. Later this company was consolidated with the Southern California Edison Company.

It is for this hydro-electric development that Ward is best known in the engineering world. Considerable water power had been

harnessed and put to use prior to that time, starting with the Mill Creek Plant in Southern California, built by Henry H. Sinclair, the Kaweah Plant in Central California sponsored by John Hays Hammond, and the Folsom Plant above Sacramento, marking the beginning of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company. However, these projects may reasonably be compared with Fulton's steamboat and Stephenson's locomotive, deserving full credit for the ingenuity and courage of their builders, but having no great effect in the power supply of California as it exists to-day.

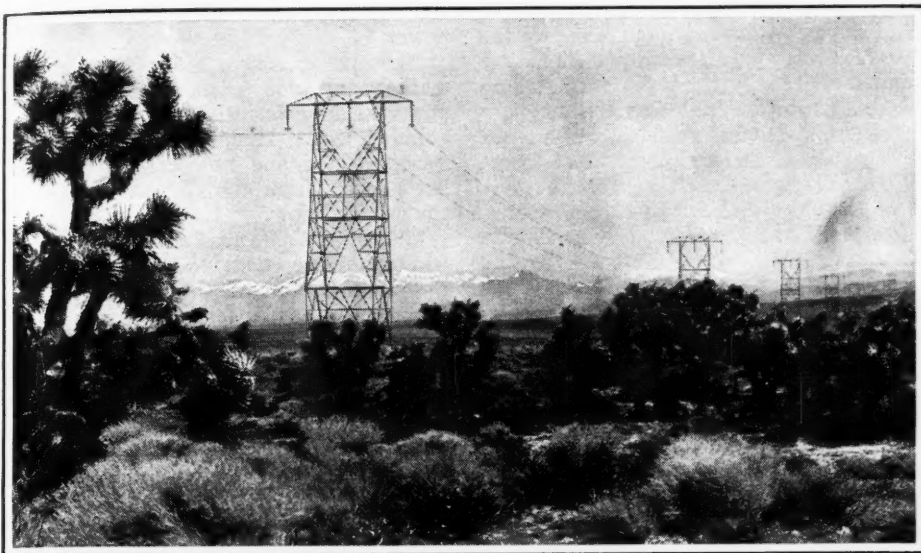
With a power source 250 miles away from its market, the electrical industry was faced with new problems of such magnitude as to discourage any but men of Ward's caliber. Under his direction this initial undertaking of transmitting power from Big Creek on the San Joaquin River to Southern California was successfully completed, and new transmission methods were developed which are now standard practice throughout the world.

One of the most spectacular details in this program was the Florence Lake Tunnel, by which the course of a river was diverted and carried for thirteen miles through a range of mountains whose peaks tower 12,000 feet above sea level. The tunnel empties into Huntington Lake, the original reservoir of this electric system, and is thus made available for a chain of powerhouses in the canyon of the San Joaquin. In recognition of this achievement, Ward was given a bronze medallion by the United States Chamber of Commerce.

A Railroad over the Sierras

California was discovered in 1542, only fifty years after the first voyage of Columbus. More than two centuries elapsed before the Franciscan missionaries under the leadership of Junipero Serra, began their splendid work of civilizing the native Indians by establishing a chain of twenty-one missions, starting with San Diego in 1769, and concluding with Solano in 1823.

The Franciscans were more than religious teachers. They instructed the natives in useful arts, such as brick-making, wood-working, spinning, weaving and agriculture, supplementing this with considerable success in giving the Indian an appreciation of music and painting. The story of the missions furnished the background for the romance of Southern California, just as the



THE WIRES SEEN IN THIS PICTURE CARRY POWER TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY MILES
(The power is generated by waterfalls in the distant mountains and transmitted for consumption by the people of Los Angeles)

story of gold gives color to the northern section of the State.

With the discovery of gold near Sacramento in 1848, a tremendous impetus was given to western commerce. It is related that in February, 1849, the first steamship arrived in San Francisco harbor with a party of gold seekers who had taken passage from New York. In June of the same year there were 200 vessels of various types lying in San Francisco Bay. These five months mark the beginning of the westward march which never since has lost its momentum.

Twelve years later, business men of Sacramento, determined that California should have a direct railroad connection with eastern America, organized the Central Pacific Railroad Company, and the story of the Iron Horse began. These men were Leland Stanford, a lawyer; Collis P. Huntington and Mark Hopkins, who were engaged in the hardware business; and Charles Crocker, a dry-goods merchant. Every student of California history recognizes these names as "The Big Four."

Anyone who has not been afoot in the High Sierra in midwinter cannot appreciate the difficulties faced by "The Big Four" when they undertook to construct a railroad from the plains of California to the desert of Nevada. The survey led through rugged

mountain passes 7,000 feet above sea level, where the annual snowfall varies from thirty to sixty feet in depth and where four feet of snow is frequently found on the summit as late as July.

"The work in the Sierra was done before the days of high explosives. Five hundred kegs of powder were the daily average and its price was beyond anything ever known in the country before. There were no means in California for manufacturing railroad material. Labor was scarce and only obtainable at great cost. (Charles Crocker solved this problem by importing thousands of Chinese coolies who proved industrious and peaceable workers.)

"Iron rails laid in the track cost \$140,000 a mile. Engines and cars were brought around the Horn, shipped by river steamers to Sacramento and then reassembled. An average of 11,000 men were engaged for three years in this mighty work upon the mountains. There was not a tree within 500 miles of the route that would make a board, and no satisfactory quality of building stone. A minimum haul for ties was 600 miles, and for rails and other materials the haul was the entire length of the Central Pacific road. More money was actually expended in the construction of 150 miles of the Central Pacific road across the Sierra Nevadas than would have

been necessary to build the road from the eastern base of those mountains to the city of Chicago." These quotations are from an address by Creed Haymond before the United States Senate in 1888.

California's natural wealth, her rugged physical structure and her great distances have challenged the engineer since that day when the Spanish-Mexican rule gave way before Sloat and Fremont. Thousands who came to seek gold remained to till the soil. They needed transportation, and it was provided. New problems in construction were faced and solved by engineers whose work remains as a silent answer to the inevitable remark, "It can't be done," which is hurled every time a new and difficult situation presents itself.

"You cannot take a railroad across the Sierra because of the heavy snow pack." The snowshed was designed and the railroads were built.

"You cannot have industry in California because there is no coal here." The engineer went into the mountains and converted

the melting snows into hydro - electric power.

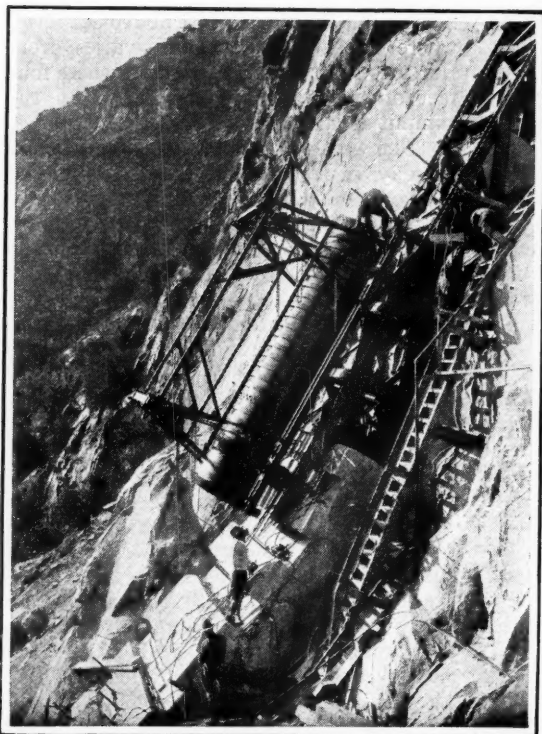
"The power source is too far from the market and you cannot transmit your power in large quantities to any practical point of use." High-voltage transmission was perfected and now carries 1,500,000 horse-power from the distant streams to the valleys below.

"Southern California can have no foreign market for the goods you will make from this power because the ships cannot get into a port near Los Angeles." In 1914 there were 600 feet of deep water dockage in Los Angeles harbor (San Pedro). To-day there are twelve miles of piers, and more are being planned in this harbor which the engineers carved from a frog pond.

Water for Southern California

Water has ever been a "key issue" in the Golden State. Next to mining claims, it was probably the greatest cause of dispute and bloodshed in those times when justice was frequently administered without recourse to law. In these more modern times, peaceful means are generally employed to settle arguments, but the feeling between litigants frequently runs as high as it did in pioneer days.

It is not strange then that California has developed men unusually learned in the law of water and also men unusually skilled in making it produce wealth. One of the earliest of these was L. A. Pelton, who invented a particularly efficient water-wheel for use in the mines. Following the mining era, Pelton's device did not find much employment until the hydro-electric engineer came on the scene and found the Pelton wheel ideal for "high-head" plants which predominate in this State. Turbines are entirely satisfactory for "low-head" plants like Keokuk and Niagara, but in California waterfalls of 2,000 feet are utilized. The first plant at Big Creek, constructed under Ward's supervision, takes water directly from a reservoir giving a drop of 2,130 feet; and a plant just completed by the San Joaquin Light and Power Corporation, on King's River, has a head of 2,243 feet.



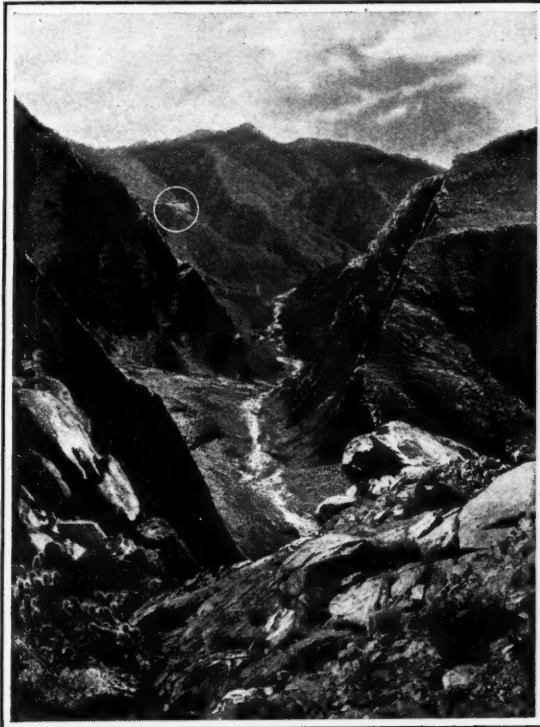
THE ENGINEER IN CALIFORNIA IS NEVER BORED
(Half a dozen men may be discovered here, installing machinery for a power-house on King's River)

The building of these power plants has had an effect on California's agriculture which is little understood. Except for grain fields, all of California's farms require irrigation during the summer months. As a rule, there is not a drop of rain between April 15 and September 1. On the other hand, much of the rainfall of winter runs off without doing any good, and occasionally it is an actual menace. Here is where the power company comes into the picture. It takes what it needs of the running water during the wet months and stores the remainder in its reservoirs. This gives a "fuel" supply for summer, when the streams normally would be dry, and the water, having passed through the powerhouse, is turned back into the stream-bed to be used by the farmer at the time when he needs it most.

Engineering achievements with the conservation of water as their object have been numerous. The most recent is the Exchequer Dam on the Merced River, in the Yosemite Valley. Yosemite is also widely known in connection with the Hetchhetchy project for providing an additional water and power supply to San Francisco. Power has been delivered for some time and is distributed by the Pacific Gas and Electric Company. The water line, however, has not been completed.

Probably the most widely advertised undertaking of this character is the Los Angeles Aqueduct. Few people enter Southern California without hearing something of William Mulholland, who was a ditch-tender when Los Angeles was little more than a pueblo and who has achieved such fame throughout the country that his is an outstanding name in water development.

In 1905, Los Angeles had a population of 200,000. Probably a dozen of its citizens, including Mulholland, sensed the need for a larger water supply and the idea of a great aqueduct was born. Credit for this achievement goes jointly to Fred Eaton, who had the vision of conducting the waters of the Owens Valley across the Mojave Desert; to J. B. Lippincott, whose engineering skill



© Gabriel Moulin

**CARRIZO GORGE, WHICH CROSSES THE BOUNDARY
BETWEEN CALIFORNIA AND MEXICO**

(The white circle shows the portal of a railroad tunnel)

is evident in every phase of the project, and to William Mulholland, chief engineer, not the least of whose contributions were his political finesse and talent in moulding public opinion.

The Los Angeles aqueduct is 233 miles long and cost \$24,600,000. It was started in 1907 and completed in 1913. To date the capacity of the aqueduct has not been taxed, but in anticipation of a still further growth in population the city is planning to develop a greater supply of water at the source and may find it advisable to build another aqueduct when the full capacity of the existing one is utilized. Water is the limiting factor in this land of little rain.

Bridges Across San Francisco Bay

The engineer is constantly faced with the problem of correcting inconvenient situations caused by the carelessness of Nature and the thoughtlessness of man. Nature, in throwing up mountain ranges and laying out river courses, apparently did

not anticipate the whims of a motoring public whose desire to go somewhere seems insatiable.

But man has made his mistakes, too. When he set up trading posts in the wilderness, he did not have the vision of a million people milling around in an area of a few square miles. As a consequence, the trail from his cabin to the general store has proven inadequate for modern traffic.

So now, the business man in his hour of distress turns to the engineer with a plea to "get us out of this fix."

Early in May of this year, a committee of distinguished engineers made a report recommending a bridge across San Francisco Bay. It will cost millions, but the people of the Bay Cities see that it is inevitable and are preparing to raise the money. Just when the bay will be bridged can not be predicted, but it will come some time.

On May 21, also, President Coolidge pressed a button in Washington which gave the signal for the opening of the new bridge across the Carquinez Strait, northeast of San Francisco. This will correct another mistake of Nature by providing a free roadway from Central California to the glorious redwood forests in the northwestern section of the State.

The Carquinez Bridge cost \$8,000,000. It has a main span of 3,000 feet and, with the approaches, the total length exceeds a mile. From an engineering point of view, the outstanding feature of the Carquinez structure is the central pier which is thus described by Charles Derleth, Jr., chief engineer:

Strictly speaking, this tower is supported on four independent foundations, which comprise the central support. Each is a solid mass of concrete equal in volume to the outside dimensions of a thirteen-story building on a lot forty feet square. Six such masses of concrete were sunk in the swift waters of the strait; four at the center pier and two under the north tower.

Each stands in eighty to 200 feet of water. Heretofore, no foundations have been built in just such depths and currents.

Engineers Still at Work

References to the accomplishments of railroad engineers in the West need not be in the past tense, for each year brings up new problems of unique interest. It is true that California is well covered with transportation lines and not a great deal of work on new right-of-way is undertaken. At the same time facilities must be improved, grades reduced, curves straightened,

cut-offs provided, and double track substituted for single.

One of the most interesting stretches of railroad to be built recently is the San Diego and Arizona, undertaken by the late John D. Spreckels to give the city of San Diego a direct outlet to the East. On this route is the famous Carriso Gorge, which follows the boundary line between California and Mexico. For a distance of eleven miles the roadbed is carved from solid granite at a cost of \$350,000 a mile, or nearly six dollars an inch. Credit for this achievement goes to William Hood.

And so, up and down the State, the engineer is following the trail blazed by Junipero Serra, the versatile missionary. Millions are being spent annually to modify the face of Nature. For example, Ward's job in the Canyon of the San Joaquin is estimated to cost \$365,000,000, or \$15,000,000 more than was spent by Uncle Sam on the Panama Canal.

State Engineer Paul Bailey is now seeking legislative support for a plan to control practically all the waters of the State. Among other things, his plan provides for diverting the flood waters of the Sacramento River and pumping them *up* the course of the San Joaquin. Making a river run uphill is just the sort of proposition to tempt the California engineer. The Bailey plan would cost between \$300,000,000 and \$400,000,000.

In Pasadena there lives a sage and a seer, Robert A. Millikan, Nobel prize winner and distinguished scientist.

To him I put this question, "Dr. Millikan, what is your opinion of this hydro-electric project which has been developed by Mr. Ward during the last fifteen years?"

"It is the finest display of vision, intelligence, courage and public spirit combined which I know of anywhere in the world to-day," he replied.

"It represents vision, because nothing of the sort has been done before; intelligence in the wise use of money; courage in the employment of methods new and untried; public spirit in that it is conservation of natural resources in the highest sense.

"Who is to be given recognition for conceiving this plan? Like all other things which result from coöperative research, it is the offspring of several minds, but if there is any one man to be singled out as being the most responsible of the group, that man undoubtedly is George C. Ward."

A NEW FORD!

BY J. GEORGE FREDERICK

THE old Ford is dead. Model T, that familiar vehicle which has survived with only minor changes since 1908, is no more; for the fifteen millionth one, almost the last of its line, was finished late in May with something of a celebration at the Ford plant. Beginning August 1 there will be a new and better Ford.

This car is to be lower and longer than the present one; it will have a streamline body and more dashing radiator and hood. It will be fitted with balloon tires, and probably with four-wheel brakes. It will boast new oil, ignition and water-pump systems. Most drastic of all, it will have a new gear shift, the customary three speeds forward and reverse. In short it will be not a Ford, but an automobile.

Mr. Ford's Early Monopoly

But the mere decision to manufacture it instead of the old model is more than an admission that competitors have at last killed the old Model T. It is a crisis in automobile history. Until 1926 Henry Ford was the hub around which the industry revolved. But now forces beyond his control have left him merely one of the spokes. Will his new car put him in the center of things once more?

He first gained that position by winning for himself a price monopoly. That is, he sold his Model T so much more cheaply than other cars that for most families it was a question of buying a Ford or having no automobile. It is somewhat surprising to recall that when Model T was introduced in 1908 that price was \$950. Ford kept his price monopoly by successive reductions, until in 1916 his car cost only \$360. The after-war rise took it to \$575, but it came down again to \$290 in 1924-25. Adding a self-starter and demountable rims, he raised it to \$360 once more, where it stayed. Ford had touched bottom, and was beyond competition so far as price was concerned.

But price no longer mattered. In the

first place, incomes had gone up, so that automobile buyers had 44 per cent. more "real" purchasing power. Measured in dollars instead of comparative purchasing power, the increase was more than 100 per cent. To help matters along, large-scale production had so reduced automobile prices that a dollar spent on a car in 1926 was worth \$1.13 by the standards of 1913. On top of that came installment selling, which tapped an enormous new class of buyers who never before had been able to save enough money to buy a car.

Dislodged from First Place

All in all, Ford's price monopoly became a picked bone. The public was no longer interested in buying merely a vehicle that would move. It could afford to buy one that rode easily and swiftly, which looked well, and permitted indulgence of individual taste. For comparatively little more than Ford asked, it could buy any one of half a dozen low-priced cars, considerably more attractive in appearance and comfort.

This was two or more years ago, but Ford's mind, long used to standing at bay, would not stir. He stuck to his Model T until the decline in business became startling. He sold only a million and a half cars in 1926—about a fifth less than the year before—whereas the General Motors Corporation sold twice as many as in 1924. This company sold 827,000 cars in 1925, and 1,215,826 in 1926. During the first half of 1927 General Motors has more than maintained its striking pace and will show a 40 per cent. increase in retail deliveries over 1926. No less than 379,330 Chevrolets were sold in the first four months of this year, as against 233,902 in 1926. Most significant of all, the day came, this last spring, when more Chevrolets than Fords were made; for Ford sales continued to dwindle.

It is a tribute to Mr. Ford's logic that he has not, as some of his detractors pre-

dicted he would, clung stubbornly to his idea that Model T was his last word. He has repeatedly shown himself able to change his mind and reverse himself. He has realized, doubtless better than most men, the great seriousness of changing models and giving up the price monopoly which served him so spectacularly.

What It Means to Make a Change

The average man does not know what it means to retool a huge plant to make an altogether different model in great quantity. Ford costs are based on many years of development of fractional adjustments, special machinery, carefully worked out relationships with other plants and raw material sources. Obviously the making of a new model must not only take tremendous sums of money for new equipment, but, more important still, it will take years of time to synchronize the new organization and develop anew the efficiency which made the Model T price possible. Ford must now do in a hurry what his winning competitors have taken years to achieve.

Some idea of the great cost of making over Ford plants may be gained from the fact that one automatic machine, which makes but one small part of Model T, cost \$100,000. Many hundred such expensive machines must now be made and installed; a myriad of changes must be made in schedule, and workmen must be retrained. Equipping the Ford plant for the new model will not, of course, be done all at once.

When deliveries on the new model start, in August, they will naturally be comparatively few, gaining as production can be increased. But reshaping the Ford plants will probably cost fifty or seventy-five million dollars in the coming year, and perhaps more after that.

Still, Ford is a master technician, and may be expected to perform engineering miracles in this transformation process; miracles of economy in both money and time. In spite of the difficulties, it will be granted that Ford can make a new car, and make a good one.

It is not manufacture, but selling, that will be his Waterloo. The new Ford will be either an ineffective gesture, or the beginning of a new era in automobile manufacturing. There are skeptics who doubt that Ford can win with a model which more or less duplicates what others are offering. Others with faith in the genius of Model T maintain that he can be relied upon again to lead automobile selling into a new era.

He has changed his mind about advertising, which he called an economic waste some months ago. The General Motors advertising appropriation for 1927 is fifty millions dollars, ten million of which is for Chevrolet alone. Ford has already started work on advertising the new model.

How Much Will the New Car Cost?

Critics and friends alike await with especial interest the price which Ford will charge for his new car. It is known, of course, that it will be higher than the present price. It must inevitably draw close enough to the prices of his competitors to make price a negligible factor in the struggle. But what will it be?

One thing is certain. If the new model sells in large quantities, one earmark of the era it will usher in will be a still stronger tendency to consolidate automobile companies. Only giants can compete with giants. Already the number of automobile manufacturers has dwindled remarkably. Even in 1923 six companies made 85 per cent. of the cars, leaving only 15 per cent. for the other ninety-four manufacturers. To-day the number of manufacturers has been cut almost in half. Consolidation is now made even more certain because of the tendency toward what is known as complete coverage—the making of all types and classes of cars by one maker. This is a reversal of the concentration policy of



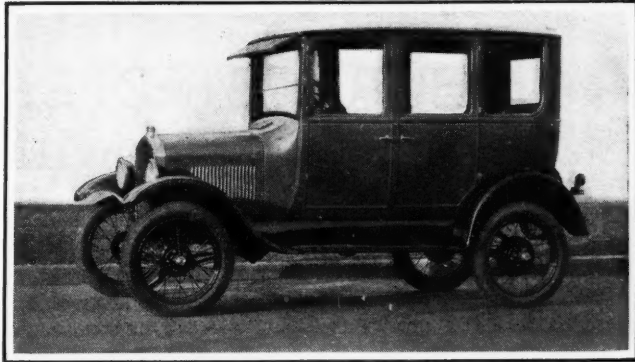
NATIONAL CURIOSITY

By Ireland, in the *Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)

several years ago. It results from the dealers' necessity for having a wide variety of cars with which to tempt the public. Because of the struggle among manufacturers to find new buyers of cars, this policy has loomed as important and strategic; and Ford in particular has felt his dealer organization crumbling on this account.

If successful, the new Ford must bring about another change; it will increase the rush to replace old, if still serviceable, cars with the latest models. Walter P. Chrysler has said that there are 12,000,000 "obsolete" cars being driven to-day, by which he means cars not up-to-date in equipment. With Ford's Model T out of date, Chrysler would doubtless increase this figure, for a new low price and more attractive Ford will almost certainly inspire an unusually large number of Ford replacements for several years to come.

Since Ford is almost certain to try to

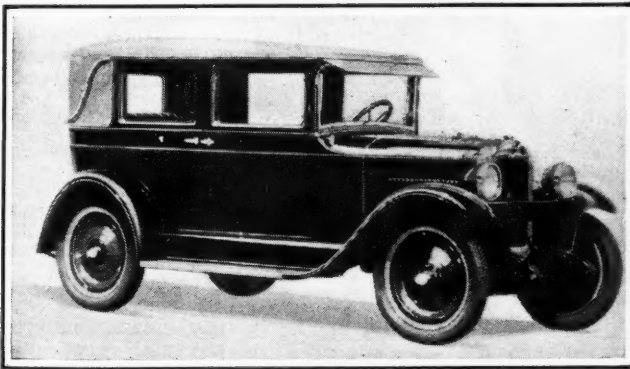


A FORD SEDAN OF MODERN TYPE

(The new Ford will be longer and lower)

trade. Moreover, it will lead quickly to determined efforts to motorize the rest of the world; and because of equally determined tariff walls in European countries, the smaller and more backward nations in other parts of the earth will be motorized most rapidly, with important economic changes there as an inevitable result. South America is already spending large sums on roads.

What matters most of all is that the new Ford will make automobiles greater bargains than ever. Already this year automobile prices have gone steadily downward, while quality has mounted upward. Beautifully upholstered sedans and coaches of 1927 can be had from \$700 to \$1,000—less than the plain touring models of 1920. More than 700 parts on American cars are interchangeable, because of a cross-licensing patent agreement. And the high technical excellence of automobiles is a great object lesson for other manufacturers. In a sense, the



A MODERN CHEVROLET, BELIEVED TO BE THE CAUSE OF RADICAL CHANGES IN THE FORD NOW ANNOUNCED

regain his price monopoly after the cost of changing his plants has been made good, a third change his new model promises to bring is a final spectacular effort to motorize America as never before; an effort to make two and three-car ownership more universal; and a corresponding push for more and more light motor trucks and buses. This will have powerful repercussions on city planning, on roads and on rural and semi-urban

automobile industry is a vast crucible in which American industry is being studied under greater heat and pressure than any other industry has ever known. Thus it becomes a laboratory enterprise from which all industry, American, and foreign, can learn.

The new Ford is simply a high-temperature test upon the automobile industry. Will the industry—or Ford—crack under the strain?

EUROPE'S DELAYED PEACEMAKING

HAS Europe really made peace since the Armistice of 1918? Until recently there were not a few publicists on both sides of the Atlantic who declared that she had not and they were ready enough to support their assertions with evidence that commanded respect.

Among all those who have written authoritatively on post-war conditions and events not one is more respected at home or abroad than the American, Frank H. Simonds, whose articles have appeared monthly in this magazine since 1914, and whose reputation as a commentator on world politics has encircled the globe. It is with a peculiar interest that old readers of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* will turn to the new book by Mr. Simonds entitled, "How Europe Made Peace Without America."¹

All who have followed Mr. Simonds's articles from month to month and from year to year, know that his opinions are not based on the printed word merely, but often represent the conclusions reached after repeated conversations with the British and European statesmen who have been active in directing Europe's destiny during these eventful years just passed. He has frequently visited the most important European countries and talked with their citizens of every rank and status. Not only do his utterances command our attention here in America but so eminent an Englishman as G. P. Gooch says in the *Contemporary Review* (London), that Mr. Simonds speaks as one having authority, for he knows the countries and the statesmen of whom he

writes, and that the greatest merits of his book are "the author's sympathetic comprehension of the various states of mind displayed during the last eight years, and his explanation of the different policies pursued by the leading actors on the European stage. The facts which he recalls are familiar to us all; but his grouping

is masterly, and his American standpoint sometimes sheds new light on old problems."

Although peace has at last come to Europe, without America's help, Mr. Simonds's narrative of developments since the war is of necessity largely a story of the quarrels and mistakes that for a time threatened another European chaos. His understanding of the nationalistic passions and rivalries that came to the surface during those years, makes all the more impressive his estimate of the actual advance toward pacification that followed Locarno, and the accession of such genuine peacemakers as MacDonald, Chamberlain, Herriot, Briand, Marx, and Stresemann. Europe was

rescued in the years 1924-26, as readers of Mr. Simonds's *REVIEW* articles understand, but he does not try to minimize the dangers still persisting on the Polish-German frontiers.

There is comfort for all forward-looking Americans in the point emphasized by Mr. Simonds that the withdrawal of the United States from the European scene after the war, permitting Europe to deal with her own problems in her own way, was the best thing for all concerned. Even had there been no quarrel at Washington, Mr. Simonds does not believe that we would long have continued to take an active part in European affairs.



MR. FRANK H. SIMONDS

(Author of "How Europe Made Peace Without America"
and regular contributor to this magazine)

¹ How Europe Made Peace Without America. By Frank H. Simonds. Doubleday, Page and Company. 417 pp.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

A Dawes Plan for Our Primary System

I DO not favor the abolishing of primary laws, but their modification, in order, among other things, to check the increasing tendency of the impartial voter to remain away from the polls at both the primary and general elections, and the consequent rapidly increasing administration of governmental power by organized minorities," writes the Hon. Charles G. Dawes, Vice-President of the United States, in the *North American Review* (New York), pleading against the primary laws as nullifying the principle of the representative Government established by the Constitution.

An analysis of our municipal and State elections of the last twenty years indicates that the effect of the primary laws, passed in reaction against political corruption, is to lessen the powers of the people in government rather than to augment them. Those who wish to reform these laws wish to bring them more in accord with the representative principles of the Constitutional Government originally established. With their modification would come greater control by the mass of party voters of the policies and candidates of the party, so that issues would be more clearly defined, with a consequent increase in the number of impartial voters at general elections. The modification, Mr. Dawes believes, should take the form of the reestablishment of the convention system of party nominations, with the maintenance along with it of a primary system, open to all the members of a party, under which the delegates to a convention will be elected.

At the time that the primary laws were adopted a thoroughly indignant people assumed that the representative form of government was responsible for political rascals, without realizing that political rascals will always exist. "Enough years have now elapsed" since the substitution of the primary system for conventions "for

us to recognize the great damage thus done to our Government and our people."

The lack of clear and contested issues is unquestionably the most serious cause of the falling off in the proportion of qualified voters who vote. "Nothing so discourages the American voter as the feeling that his vote will not help towards a real decision of principles and policies as exemplified by candidates and party platforms."

In the Presidential election of 1924, only 52 per cent. of the voters of our country availed themselves of the privilege of the franchise. This indifference is, Mr. Dawes believes, the greatest existing menace to American institutions. It is quite possible in State, county, and city elections for 12½ per cent. of the voters to elect a candidate. It is therefore easy for controlled votes to win against a scattered field. The controlled vote is also on the steady increase; those who have a business or personal interest in State or municipal elections grow more numerous and more powerful.

Once the primary is won, unfit candidates are elected at the general election largely because of the habit of party regularity on the part of the voter.

Moreover, the primary system is responsible for an enormous and improper use of money in contests under it. . . . Since it lessens the opportunity of minority parties to make an issue of corruption before the public, it prevents the issue at the polls between clean and unclean government, and insures immunity to vote-buyers.

So immense are the sums which must be spent to advertise himself under the primary system, even along legitimate lines, by a comparatively unknown candidate that only a very rich man, a man with rich men behind him, or a man with an organization behind and generally controlling him, is likely to succeed.

Moreover, continues Mr. Dawes:

The primary system of nomination, lessening the

dependence of candidates for nomination upon their party record, adds constantly to the number in Congress of those wearing the party label who fight their party's policies. They are aided by rules in the Senate which extend the power of minority obstruction far beyond anything intended by the Constitution.

This tendency, if not arrested, threatens a breakdown in parliamentary efficiency, similar to that which has caused the abandonment of parliamentary government in Poland, Italy, and Spain.

Arguments against reform of the primary system are exceedingly superficial, rarely disinterested, and only emphasize the

dangers of the present primary system, where the good talker or mixer succeeds in nominating himself.

Primaries should be retained for the selection of convention delegates, Mr. Dawes believes, but until the convention system is once more established, little improvement in political conditions is to be expected. "If we are reasonably to hope for real reform," he concludes, "we should return to the representative system of party government patterned upon the government provided for our country by the Constitution of the United States."

The British Trade Unions Bill

THE first thing in a long while that the voters of Great Britain have had to make up their minds about is the Trade Unions Bill proposed by the Conservatives, declares Wickham Steed, editor of the *London Review of Reviews*. There is all sorts of strong feeling about the bill, which has held the center of the journalistic stage for a month past.

The entire British Labor movement is united against the bill, we read. "It was a godsend" to the Labor party, says Mr. Steed, serving to reunite their dispersed forces after the defeat of the General Strike. It is equally a blow to the Conservatives, who chose an unwise moment for its presentation.

"It has left behind it a trail of resentment and class hatred at a time when the one thing necessary was for all classes to settle down and pull together," deplores Mr. Steed. In the *Manchester Guardian* and *Times Weekly* (London) for several issues past, we have not only followed the progress of parliamentary debate and public sentiment, but even succeeded in finding out what were the actual provisions of the bill:

The first clause makes illegal any strike "having any object besides the furtherance of a trade dispute within the trade or industry in which the strikers are engaged," which is designed "to coerce the Government" and will "inflict hardship upon the community." This is the amended version, but even so it is the storm center of disapproval. It is generally understood that this clause makes any sympathetic strike illegal. Passive participants in an illegal strike are not to be

punished, however—the leaders alone being held liable. Lockouts are similarly illegal.

The second clause forbids the expulsion of anyone refusing to take part in an illegal strike from any Trade Union or Society. The third clause deals with picketing and intimidation.

Clause IV has aroused violent feeling. It establishes the illegality of requiring any member of a Trade Union to make any contribution to the Union's political fund unless he expresses the desire to do so. Nor are other Trade Union funds to be used for political purposes. "This is a sound principle, though when advocated by the Conservative Party, it is class legislation," criticizes Mr. Steed. The May Day circular of the Labor party is more vehement: "A rich party, financed by secret funds derived from the sale of honors and from large subsidies subscribed to by wealthy men, is trying to disable a poor party (Labor) which carries on its work by modest contributions by trade-unionists."

Civil servants are forbidden to belong to Trade Unions in Clause V. In Clause VI any local or public authority is forbidden to discriminate between Trade-Unionists and non-Trade-Unionists in giving employment.

Clause VII brings renewed cries of tyranny from Labor cohorts. It grants the Attorney General the right to apply for an injunction to restrain a Trade Union from employing its funds in contravention of the bill. Thinking people of all parties consider this a dangerous placing of power in hands which may some day be unscrupulous in using it.

From the Saga of Lindbergh

CERTAINLY Charles Lindbergh never pictured himself as inspiration, or at least provocation, to poets. Yet an astounding amount and variety of verse has been written celebrating his great flight. Half an hour after the landing at Le Bourget, Maurice Rostand wrote a poem with Alan Seeger's arresting first line "I Have a Rendezvous with Death" as its title. A portion of the translation follows:

You danced all that last day,
And you left alone when the day broke.
Your mother wept as she taught,
But less than her pupils.

And you flew a day and a half
Above the sea, above the earth;
A day and a half you did not sleep,
Not even a second.

Dost know who let you
hold in check
Death, distance and
the solitude?
Dost know who caused
you to arrive
With such exactitude?

'Twas those young men,
with hearts so brave,
Who, full of fervor and good-will,
Came from your home, too soon forgot,
To die for France.

That which had brought you, predestined one,
Through all these risks where others fell;
It was the rendezvous which they gave you
At their fresh graves.

The French also celebrated the flight in rollicking street songs, the quality of which is pretty badly strained in translation:

Don't let it give you pain
That he's American.
Let's just admire the man,
His courage and his brain.
What's the funniest to-day
Is that his friends over there,
When he rose in the air
Declared him clean crazy.

In *Life* for June 16 appeared a poem by Oliver Herford entitled "Our Boy," and illustrated by a Charles Dana Gibson cartoon:

Wings and the Boy I sing, who, braving Fate
And the tempestuous Sea-God's ancient hate,
Three thousand miles on wings unswerving sped
Thro' ice-barbed winds, o'er moving mountains
dread,
And to the stricken watchers on the shore
Of sorrowing France, Columbia's message bore.

Wings and the Boy! Companions linked as one.
Prince of the Air, Columbia's bravest son,
Modest as brave—the glory of his deed
Joyously sharing with his winged steed,
Named for a gallant Knight—by happy chance,
The Spirit of Saint Louis, King of France.

Miss E. A. Chaffee, in excellent blank verse, images the flier as an old man:

The goal almost in sight, a sudden spurt
Of energy, like second breath, and he
Was there at last. The rest was all confused.
Another trail marked for the feet of time. . . .

Ah, well!
That was a long, long time ago, and now
The scheduled Paris planes cross every day,
And he sits here, and muses now and then,
Thinking the world is old.

Robert Underwood Johnson wrote "The Young Chevalier" to the tune of "Charlie is My Darling," a few verses of which must suffice:

'Twas on a Friday morn-
ing,
The twentieth of May,
That Charlie took his
life in hand
And boldly sailed away.

He did the trick, and did it
As never done before,
And after he had landed
He did one wonder more:

He sailed into the whole world's heart!
What a miracle it is!
He's everybody's Charlie,
And every one is his.

One effort, by James W. Foley, is in the inimitable dialect of Lindbergh's Scandinavian neighbors. The first verse is:

Vile udder folks talkin'
An' vunderin' how,
An' ban gettin' ready
Purty soon but not now,
By yiminy, Lindbergh,
He yumped up an' vaded
Right out in the air
An', by yingo, he made it.

In the *Nation* for June 1 appears a rollicking health to the hero entitled "Skool! Charles Lindbergh, Skool!"

"All day I felt the pull
Of the steel miracle. . . .
Ireland was beautiful,
Then France was near us."
Now from the flowing bowl
Spoke forth a nation's soul:
"Skool! Charles Lindbergh, skool!
New York to Paris!"



Lindbergh's Mechanical Navigator

IT IS a far cry from the early Wright biplane, with its frail wooden skeleton and delicate canvas-webbed wings, to the modern compact monoplane that drives through space at tremendous speeds. The precision instruments that have been evolved to guide the man with the "stick" are no less wonderful as marvels of scientific progress than the planes and motors. Perhaps most interesting of these is the earth inductor compass which aided Col. Charles A. Lindbergh in his flight across the American continent, and from New York to Paris in one hop. Using this Pioneer earth inductor compass which weighs only thirteen pounds, Lindbergh said, upon his arrival:

I flew by dead reckoning alone. It wouldn't have done me any good to have a sextant to assist in taking my position from a celestial body because I don't know how to use one. It really was pretty much luck, you know, that I struck the right place on the Irish coast.

He came within three miles of his charted course!

The earth inductor compass—perfected by years of research and experiment by Drs. Hoyle and Briggs, the Bureau of Standards, the Engineering Division of the Army Air Corps, and the manufacturers—measures the angle between the brushes of the generator of the compass and the earth's magnetic field. Thus the pilot may set a course at any angle to the lines of force pointing to the magnetic north. According to the War Department:

The operation of the earth inductor compass is very simple. The controller is rotated to indicate the desired heading. This rotates the brushes of the generator into such a position that there will be no flow of current when the aircraft is headed in the direction indicated. The pilot accordingly turns his ship until the meter hand comes to zero. By steering so as to keep the hand on zero the proper heading is maintained. To change to a new course, the controller is rotated so that the proper heading is indicated on the dial, and the pilot then turns the aircraft until the meter hand again comes to zero.

Landing Fields in Mid-Ocean

AT a luncheon in Paris at the American Club, Colonel Lindbergh declared that regular air mail and passenger lines will undoubtedly be established across the Atlantic as soon as at least two mid-ocean landing fields are designed and built. Engineers already are working on plans for seadromes, and patents have been granted on working models by two experimenters, Howard R. Armstrong and A. C. Heaphy. The *Herald Tribune* (N. Y.) holds that:

A floating air field must have a clear, unobstructed surface of at least 1,200 feet square, which will remain level in the most severe storms and will be above the highest waves. It must also be securely anchored in place.

Mr. Heaphy has perfected a "cellular plastic concrete floating island like a giant honeycomb with the honey removed and the cells made watertight and filled with air" that is broad enough not to roll or plunge between crests of waves and so massive as not to be distorted by waves passing under it. Mr. Armstrong plans a structure like a swimming-float, with the

field on stilts supported by air chambers. A hundred feet below the surface, great horizontal discs will add stability.



IT'S NICE TO BE LOOKING UP INSTEAD OF DOWN FOR A CHANGE!

From the *Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)

The Transoceanic Service of the Future

The greatest service which Lindbergh did, indirectly, in his recent flight was to wake up the American business man to the importance and efficiency of air-transport, says Mr. Edward Marshall, writing in *Forbes*, prominent New York financial journal, for June 15. After Lindbergh we shall have transoceanic mail service, with passenger service to follow. In order to bring the establishment of this air service a little nearer, Mr. Marshall suggests the utilization of the idle vessels of the Shipping Board as safety and supply stations:

Why should not these war-time hulks be anchored in a line at intervals across the sea, a matter long since shown by oceanographers to be a possibility, and thus be utilized as guarantees of safety and supply stations for an all-American transoceanic air service?

Surely it would be an immense stimulant to international business if Lindbergh's time between New York and Paris could even be approximated by regularly flying Air Mail planes. And if Lindbergh did the thing once, why should it not be done daily? The Transcontinental Air Mail and its success, plus Lindbergh, seems to answer that inquiry.

Everything linked up with aviation moves fast. Bleriot, who first flew across the English Channel, now a mere casual hop, still lives. He was one of those who greeted Lindbergh.

The first passenger to cross the Atlantic by airplane in a non-stop flight was

Charles A. Levine, owner of the *Columbia*, who completed a forty-two hour trip on June 6 from a point near New York to a point near Berlin, breaking the world record for distance in sustained flight,—Mr. Levine relieved the pilot, Clarence D. Chamberlin, in covering the 3,905 miles before lack of gasoline forced them to land at Kottbus, in Germany, where Martin Luther was born. F. Trubee Davison, Assistant Secretary of War, declares that this was another testimonial to American air supremacy:

Within a fortnight two American pilots, two American-made planes and one American passenger have crossed the Atlantic on the most spectacular non-stop flights so far written in aviation history. What further proof is needed to prove to the American people that American pilots and American planes lead the world? I am confident the day is soon at hand when travel between Europe and America will be an established routine.

Giuseppe M. Bellanca, who designed the *Columbia*, said after the flight that there were plenty of planes available on both sides of the Atlantic capable of making the flight. But

We haven't done it before because of a certain problem—the financial. This flight does something to solve the financial problem. It shows the public what is possible to aviation. When the public comes to believe in a thing like this the financial problem is solved, because people who were afraid to put money in it before will scramble to get in first.

Air Piloting Preferred

WITHIN a few days following Lindbergh's flight, hundreds of ambitious young Americans applied for jobs as air pilots. W. A. S. Douglas gives us some idea of what they are undertaking:

The element of danger and the corresponding recompense in cash have been figured out pretty closely by those in authority. An air mail pilot, coming on the job with his army test certificate, a necessary thing, and obtained, generally at Kelly Field, Texas, over a period of a year to eighteen months, starts off at \$2,800 a year base pay. He also draws 5 cents a mile flying pay for day work and 10 cents a mile for night work. He gets \$100 increase in base pay for every 500 hours of flying, the limit on this bringing the pay up to \$3,800 a year.

This scale applies to what is termed as an ordinary run, where the hazard is as low as such a hazardous undertaking can be. But scraping the tops of the Alleghenies and the Rockies is another matter. A flier who has daily or nightly straddled these obstacles in their attendant fickle weather will draw 7 cents a mile for daylight flying and 14 cents for night work. Some of these chance-takers

have been known to make as high as \$12,000 a year.

That the calling of air mail pilot has a glamour of its own is evidenced by the fact that there are more than 2,000 applications on the book at present, all from men who have qualified in the necessary flying tests. These requests will be handed over to the commercial flying organizations which are taking up contracts now with the Post-Office Department for the carrying of air mails.

Signal Lights and Traffic Rules in the Air

Air Secretary MacCracken, of the Department of Commerce, reported on May 29 that 1,386 miles of air routes in the United States already had been lighted for pilots and that forty-five intermediate fields, 109 beacons, and seventy-three blinker lights had been completed between municipal airports, while the department has begun to instal radio directive beacons at strategic points to guide pilots under conditions of low visi-

bility. Air traffic rules, codes for licensing, inspection, and identification of aircraft and airmen, have been established, and in various parts of the country a skilled personnel is engaged in examining pilots, mechanics, and airplanes. Another activity is the making of strip maps to cover designated civil airways. In the Bureau of Standards, experiments are being made with radio and visual signals for piloting planes under difficult visibility. According to Secretary MacCracken:

By the end of 1927, the airway system of the United States will have been increased to 9,435 miles and will serve eighty-two cities with a combined population of almost 24,000,000, in addition to numerous cities which benefit by rapid railroad connections with airway stops.

Two hundred planes in commercial service will then fly a daily mileage of 1,536, which makes a monthly total of 73,696 miles. These figures do not include the large number of miles that will be flown by operators and individual pilots engaged in commercial and industrial work but not carrying mail. At this time over 7,000 miles of the airways will have been lighted for night flying or will be nearing completion of lighting installation.

J. P. the Younger

THE man of whom it has been said, "he has done more than any other in this country to make the world safe for democracy," was perhaps our most undemocratic, certainly our most undiplomatic American. His son, J. P. Morgan the Younger, is an "equally snifish savior of democracy," characterizes W. M. Walker, in an article in the June *American Mercury* on the person and works of this financial giant. We have not seen in many years the like of this article. It is rarely that anyone attempts to write a personal article about the Morgans; it is even more rarely that he has information enough to give his portrait the aspect of reality. Mr. Walker satisfies us, analyzing the personality of this aloof, all-powerful person, criticizing certain aspects of his rule, and fighting for him a few of the battles he has been too proud to fight himself.

Mr. Morgan, true son of his father, is utterly indifferent to the "sovereignty of public opinion." "What people think of the Morgan manner is immaterial, he believes, so long as the virtue of his House is not impugned." He is a proud and handsome man, living quietly within the confines of his family, with relatively few acquaintances. He has little cause to love his fellow-men, who for the most part regard him as a "veritable Hell-hound of Plutocracy," as Pulitzer and Hearst taught them to, back in his father's day. Nor does J. P. the Younger attempt, as many of his Wall Street brethren do, to win his way into the public's heart via the soft graces of a press agent.

When Mr. Morgan Senior died, his son was forced to sell an important portion of his art collection, in order to raise cash for

the highly expensive liquidation of the estate, Mr. Walker tells us. The Metropolitan Museum, which had expected these pictures as a gift, was astounded, and a storm of dispraise arose. No explanation was ever made, nor did his handsome atonement—the gift of the \$8,500,000 library with a maintenance fund of \$1,500,000, serve to turn the public in his favor. People are willing to believe the worst of the Morgans. When, goaded beyond endurance during the Walsh Industrial Relations Commission inquiry, in reply to the irrelevant question, "Do you think \$10 a week a proper wage for a longshoreman?" he burst out angrily: "If that's all he can get and he takes it, I should say that it is enough." It was broadcast over the country as a measure of his character and opinions. . . .

The Younger Morgan, whom B. C. Forbes, editor of *Forbes Magazine*, has called a "veritable Bourbon," was born at Irvington, N. Y., in 1867, and designed by his father for the life he is now leading. "He moved through the fashionable grooves of Groton and Harvard in an inoffensively aloof manner, with the preoccupation of a young man who is presently going somewhere where it is extremely unlikely that he will see any of his classmates. . . ." The year after his graduation he married Miss Jane Norton Grew. After an apprenticeship with Drexel, Morgan and Company, he was sent to London, returning in 1905.

He is a big man physically. Almost six feet in height, he weighs nearly 200 pounds. He keeps in good physical condition, and has never abused the rugged constitution he built up during an athletic youth. When the Wall Street explosion, on September 16, 1920, rocked the whole financial district,

there was none braver than Mr. Morgan. He ventured boldly to the shattered doorway while many other captains of finance dived under their directors' mahogany.

With the death of his father in 1913, the younger man was left to face the test of the Great War alone, yet surrounded by such shrewd advisers as George F. Baker, Henry Stettinius, Henry P. Davison and Tom Lamont. Concerning his financial abilities, Mr. Walker writes:

Despite his succession to full command, Jack Morgan is admittedly no second J. P. He had neither the ambition nor the ability to become single-handed the financial dictator of the world. A hundred legal and ethical restraints sprang up between the father and the son who loved each other so well. Things that the elder Morgan could and would do the younger man cannot and will not.

But notwithstanding these prohibitions, Mr. Morgan has carried many large undertakings through to success, though with far greater aid from his lieutenants than his father would have required or permitted. Morgan the Elder was a real Titan; his son is only a very capable business

and financial executive—a man of far less originality, daring and resourcefulness.

But while he does not domineer so much as his sire it cannot be said that he does not dominate the family firm. In the affairs of companies controlled by the Morgans the phrase, "J. P. Morgan suggests" has come to have a regnant significance. Mr. Morgan, in spite of his reserve, is a magnetic man, and one to inspire awe.

In the presence of reporters, Mr. Morgan is as noncommittal as his firm's stationery, which bears only the deeply engraved legend "23 Wall Street." The bankers with whom the Morgan House does business believe him to be absolutely honorable and aboveboard; so do large interests; also the Government. The small investor has, with some cause, a less happy opinion of the consideration which he will receive.

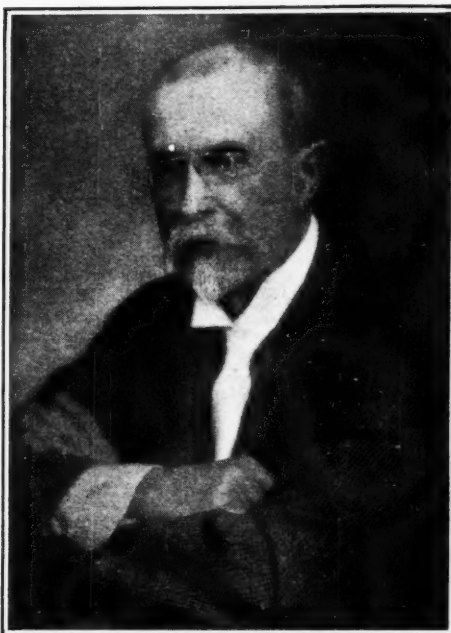
Mr. Walker in conclusion casts dark hints as to the part played by the Morgan forces in recent Presidential elections. Harding, Coolidge, Dawes, the 1924 Republican campaign fund, were, he says, too closely connected with the Morgan forces for coincidence.

President Masaryk of Czechoslovakia

THE election of Thomas Garrigue Masaryk for a second seven-year term as President of Czechoslovakia was greeted with profound joy by the people, and by all friends of Czechoslovakia. It was largely through his initiative and activity that this new State came into being in 1918; it is largely due to him that Czechoslovakia is recognized generally as one of the best organized and most prosperous States of Europe. Writing in the *Fortnightly* (London) for May Mr. Robert Machray pictures the man and his accomplishments.

President Masaryk is seventy-seven years old, yet one does not think of age in connection with him. His name calls to the mind of those who know him gentle cheerfulness, total lack of pretense or affectation, unselfish zeal, friendliness, and more profoundly, unconquerable courage, enormous powers of concentration and determination, and the work that he has accomplished.

His Slovak father was a coachman on one of the estates of the Austrian Emperor; his mother was a Czech. He therefore unites in himself the two peoples who make up the preponderance of the population of Czechoslovakia as we know it to-day. Early apprenticed to a blacksmith, he left to enter the school at Brno, and later studied



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PRESIDENT MASARYK OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC

(The Czechoslovak National Council recently elected Thomas G. Masaryk to serve a second seven-year term as head of the government)

at Vienna and Leipzig, where he met the American Miss Garrigue who was to become his wife. Upon the wedding day, he added her name to his own given name of Thomas, and has since been known as Thomas Garrigue Masaryk.

In 1882, already well-known for his scholarly achievement, he was appointed professor in the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Prague, then the capital of Bohemia, a nation under Austrian rule, now the capital of the Czechoslovak Republic. Elected to the Austrian Reichsrat in 1891, he did his best to have established a Federal system of government in Austria with all nationalities on an equal footing. Finding it an impossibility, he resigned after two years, but was elected again in 1907 and in 1911. He became nationally known by proving that certain important historical documents were forgeries. He was founder of the daily paper *Chas* (Time) in Prague, an organ of the Progressive, later the Realist party, whose program was positive work, political independence, economic emancipation, freedom of conscience and speech, and an open road for truth. Due to his political activities and the number of important books from his pen his fame spread rapidly through Europe.

At the outbreak of the war, the better to fight for the emancipation of his country from the Austrian yoke, he first founded *Maffia*, a secret society, and left the country. His campaign took him around the world, educating the foreign public about his country, of whose troubles little was known, and preparing the way for Czechoslovak independence. For a time he taught at King's College, London; at Paris he set up

the National Czechoslovak Council with the aid of Benesh and Ernest Dennis. An important concern of this organization were the emigrés and war prisoners who were ultimately formed into armies in France, Italy, and principally in Russia. His journey to Siberia in 1917-1918 kept these troops anti-Soviet. In America Masaryk showed President Wilson a map of the new Europe which would arise out of the war, and at Versailles this was followed almost in its entirety.

In 1918, when all Europe was in chaos, the new nation of Czechoslovakia was created, and was faced with a thousand serious issues. Benesh says of this time:

It is hard to find a nation which had the good fortune to be able at a decisive moment in its history, with confidence and certainty and without reservations, to gather round a leader who so perfectly incorporated in himself the ideals of the period and of his nation's great intellectual and military struggles, its ideal of the future, its traditions, and also its desires for the present, and who so clearly sketched out the plan for its political and spiritual revolution.

Masaryk was elected President temporarily by acclamation in 1918, and later by vote of the Legislative Assembly, after the Constitution had been adopted, for his first seven-year term.

The principles upon which he has built his government are those of humanity, democracy, and national and social justice, the whole set against a background of religion. His personal influence is enormous. He has accomplished internal consolidation, and continually seeks the coöperation of national minorities, such as the German, with the Czechs and Slovaks.

The Future of Christianity in China

ALTHOUGH Christianity will not last very much longer in China, the Christian missionaries will always be remembered kindly by the Chinese for their services in the modernization of the country, declares Dr. Hu Shih, Dean of Peking National University, and leader of the intellectual renaissance of his nation, writing in the *July Forum* (New York).

"Many of the Protestant missionaries worked hard to awaken China and bring about a modern nation," continues Dr. Hu Shih. "China is now awakened and de-

termined to modernize herself . . . Christianity is facing opposition everywhere."

It is Chinese nationalism—that self-consciousness of a nation with no mean cultural past—which is resisting the essentially alien religion of Christianity, just as it once killed Nestorian Christianity, Zoroastrianism, and Manicheism, and four times persecuted Buddhism, finally killing it after a thousand years of penetration in China.

Rationalism is also doing its share. Chinese philosophy began two thousand five hundred years ago with Lao Tse who

taught a naturalistic conception of the universe, and Confucius, who was frankly an agnostic. "This rationalistic and humanistic tradition has always played the part of a liberator in every age when the nation seemed to be under the influence of a superstitious or fanatic religion," says Dr. Hu Shih. With the addition of modern science, the intellectual classes are well safeguarded against any religion whose fundamental dogmas do not always stand the test of reason and science. He concludes:

And, after all, Christianity itself is fighting its

last battle, even in the so-called Christendoms. To us born heathens, it is a strange sight indeed to see Billy Sunday and Aimee McPherson hailed and patronized in an age whose acknowledged prophets are Darwin and Pasteur! The religion of Elmer Gantry and Sharon Falconer must sooner or later make all thinking people feel ashamed to call themselves "Christians." . . . They will realize that Young China was not far wrong in offering some opposition to a religion which in its glorious days fought religious wars and persecuted science, and which, in the broad daylight of the twentieth century, prayed for the victory of the belligerent nations in the World War, and which is still persecuting the teaching of science in certain quarters of Christendom.

Russian Reviews Discuss China

THE Chinese problem in all its phases, political, historic, economic and social, is the outstanding topic in current Soviet Russia reviews. The Chinese civil war is regarded as the battlefield of World Capitalism and the Revolutionary Movement initiated by Lenin. Upon the success or failure of the Nationalists, in the opinion of many Soviet writers, the whole program of self-determination and nationalism in Asia may depend.

The daily papers follow each move of the rival armies on their front pages. The monthly reviews discuss the policies of the Powers in China and the background of the present struggle.

The semi-official Association of Orientalology publishes "The New Orient," devoted exclusively to the study of social and political forces in Asia. In an article describing the political situation since the capture of Shanghai, M. Semenoff identifies British and American policy toward the Nationalist movement in the following manner:

Being involved in Central America [he writes], the United States is giving Britain a free hand in China in return for a free hand in Central America.

The first great impetus to the present movement in China was obtained, according to M. Karl Radek, writing in the *Novyi Mir*, in the gross neglect of China's just demands at the Versailles Conference. He writes:

President Wilson, the prophet of a new era and new ideals for universal well being; Lloyd George, leader of British liberalism, and Clemenceau, leader of French radicalism, all completely overlooked the awakening of the Chinese people.

The Washington Conference of 1922 in his opinion insulted the Chinese by proposing "to make the necessary reforms in China regarding extraterritoriality when China should be sufficiently civilized."

Only the lowest motives are attributed to the United States in its Chinese policy. M. Radek holds that the United States tried to gain control of the political situation in China through the Christian General Feng, but Feng spoiled these plans by "coming to an agreement with the Kuomintang and Soviet Russia." A venomous attack against America is contained in M. Hodoroff's article in *Molodaia Gvardia*. The United States, he claims, is the decisive factor in the Chinese situation, but the American republic "only plays with liberal phrases. . . ."

The historic reason for the so-called "neutrality of the United States is that when the American merchants came to trade with China, they found it already cut up into spheres of influence by the other powers; there was consequently nothing to do but to employ the insincere policy of "friendship toward the Chinese people" and the "open door doctrine." The present policy of the U. S. rests upon her desire to strengthen her economic position in China at the expense of Great Britain. . . .

The American "bourgeoisie" is not prepared to support Britain in war. It prefers to act in a different manner: to make the necessary concessions to the Chinese, to use missionaries, "Rockefeller hospitals," schools, consulates and banks in order to obtain larger profits. Capitalist America is the false friend of China.

According to M. Hodoroff, Japan, which has large interests in railways, steamship lines, textile industries and concessions in China, should not be trusted either:

Japan, he concludes, is torn between two policies dictated by contradictory interests. She has imperialist ambitions in the North of China which

lead her to support Chang-tso-lin and the counter-revolutionary forces. On the other hand, she desires to gain a special trading position in the Yangtse Valley, which leads her to express the most liberal intentions toward a Nationalist China.

Home Activities of the Reds

The constructive side of Soviet life is described in the "Moscow Proletarian." In a recent issue the work of the Institute for the Protection of Labor is treated in an illustrated article. This organization was founded in 1925 and conducts industrial research in labor hygiene, the chief study at the moment being the effect of industrial poisoning upon the human organism. It consisted in replacing the blood of a living rabbit with a specially prepared liquid, which would allow the animal to live

for exactly three days. The poisons were then injected, and their effect observed upon the duration of the animal's life.

Much interest in Communist circles has been aroused by the denunciation of the Communist Youth Movement, Russia's counterpart of the Fascist Youth and the Boy Scouts, which was published in the *Molodaia Gvardia* by M. Kusmin.

The activities of the Young Communists consist primarily in spreading the doctrines of Marx and Lenin in the villages where agitators have not succeeded in converting the inhabitants. The author traces the work of the organization from its beginning and finds that of late there has been a noticeable decline in enthusiasm among the young workers.

Mussolini's Plans for Italy

IN TEN years' time Italy will have an army of 5,000,000, a strong navy, a huge air force. Its population of 60,000,000 vigorous Fascists will be peaceful and prosperous; the Government will hold an authoritative position in international affairs. This, according to the gospel of Mussolini, before the Chamber of Deputies on May 25.

"My speech to-day will not be as short as mine usually are," he apologized. "I need to take the Italian nation and place it in front of itself. . . . My speech, therefore, will be necessary, irritating, and amusing."

"Even our worst enemies are convinced by this time that we are remodeling Italy completely, and that the work has hardly begun," declared Il Duce, reviewing the conditions of the Italian people, the present and future administrative organization of the nation, and the present and future political aims of Fascism.

Mussolini aims at a minimum death rate and a maximum birth rate. Italy's 40,000,000 persons are far too few for the accomplishment of the Fascist ideal of a dominant European nation. In the field of public health, while certain signal advances have been made, as in the eradication of pellagra, 58,000 died of tuberculosis in 1925, while mortalities due to alcoholism, insanity, and suicides, are all on the increase.

Although Mussolini does not believe in total abstinence, he thinks that the people of Italy are "beginning to drink with somewhat too much enthusiasm," and he has

already closed 25,000 of Italy's 187,000 saloons.

Concerning the bachelor's tax, in which much public interest has been shown, Mussolini indicated that the idea sprang from the need for funds in institutions for the care of maternity and infancy. More than a source of revenue, Mussolini hopes this tax will tend to increase marriages, and hence, population. "If Italy is to amount to anything it must enter into the second half of this century with a population of at least 60,000,000 inhabitants."

Towards the accomplishment of this goal, industrial urbanism is the greatest obstacle. "I proclaim myself a convinced ruralist. . . . I do not want in Italy any but healthy industries."

The war against criminal activity goes on apace. In fields of crime, such as arson and murder, the totals have decreased one-half since 1923. Robberies have decreased from 1,226 to 298.

Anti-Fascists are not to be tolerated in the State and never will be, declared Mussolini, discussing the political action of the Government. Anti-Fascist publications, organizations, activities are everywhere eradicated and all who plot against the Government are and will be deported. Yet these number far fewer than the outside world, informed by anti-Fascists, believes. As against the rumored 200,000 political prisoners, 698 are actually in forced domicile. This is not terrorism, Mussolini pro-

tests; it is purely a measure of social hygiene.

Mussolini does not believe in the usefulness of an Opposition in government. "Our chief opposition we find in circumstances. . . . In Italy there is room only for the Fascisti, and for non-Fascists provided they are upright and exemplary citizens. There is no room for anti-Fascists."

The Fascists have still to accomplish three vital things: "to harmonize all armed forces in the State, to continue the economic and financial battle, and to carry out constitutional reform."

We found a State moribund, worn out by constitutional crises, abased by its organic impotence.

The proletariat, indeed the entire people, were uninterested, indeed they were resentful of and hostile to this State.

To-day we announce to the world the operation of a new, powerful, unitarian Italian State from the Alps to Sicily. This State is composed of a kind of concentrated, organized, authoritative democracy. . . . I tell you that in ten years' time Italy, this Italy of yours, will be unrecognizable to itself and to foreigners, because we will have radically transformed not only its face but, which is far more important, its soul.

Concerning his own place in the Fascist Government Mussolini remarked: "My successor has not yet been born." It is his plan to retain personal control of the Government until the reforms he visions are completed—assassins allowing, of course.

Chicago

IN THE Chicago mayoralty election of last April, William Hale Thompson, on a program of no "frisking of mattresses for pints," jobs and protection for Negroes, no pro-British textbooks, no water meters and a five-cent fare, defeated Mayor William E. Dever and his reform program. A wondering country asked why.

According to most of the Chicago papers, Mayor Thompson's previous terms in office had been the worst administration Chicago had ever had, yet here were the people of Chicago returning him by a plurality of 83,000. Added to the recent featuring of the Chicago gunman, it began to look as if the boastful Chicagoan would lie pretty low for a few months, at least.

In the *Woman Citizen* (New York) for July, we find an article entitled "What's Wrong with Chicago?" written by Janet A. Fairbanks, Chicago resident and author of a distinguished American novel. No matter how bad Chicago may be, you may depend upon it, Chicagoans themselves, with their general excessiveness, will make it out a good deal worse than it is, Mrs. Fairbanks commences. "Many towns have criminals, but I think our press is unique in the ardor with which it celebrates the achievements of our local gunmen."

The trouble with Chicago is fundamentally the same as that of a majority of American cities: "there is too close a connection between the criminal element and the politicians. Chicago's failure to reelect William E. Dever is an important symptom of what is wrong with the city."

In *Harper's* (New York) for July, Elmer Davis draws a rather vitriolic "Portrait of an Elected Person," in which he says: "Thompson may be ignorant of the arts of government, but he is an expert in the art of getting elected. . . . Thompson has a tabloid mind . . . Chicago has no tabloid newspaper, but the tabloid state of mind is endemic among the population. . . ." In the *National Municipal Review* (New York) for June we read in an article devoted to an analysis of the whys and wherefores of the election, that three-fourths of Mayor Thompson's plurality came from three great Negro wards of the Near South Side; the other fourth came from a depreciated residential area bordering the Loop business district and inhabited largely by Poles, Czechs, Germans, Irish and Italians. To the Negroes Big Bill promised protection and sympathy; he already had the Germans as a result of his sympathetic attitude toward them during the war. The German vote in Chicago is alone almost enough to swing a Chicago election, and added to the Negro and Irish votes, is indubitably so. The Irish he secured by what seems to the outsider or the true-born American a ridiculous and uncalled-for declaration that "King George should never set foot in Chicago." "In short," writes Professor Harold Gosnell of the University of Chicago in the *National Municipal Review*, "the Negro vote, combined with the Republican machine vote and an important share of the foreign-born vote, swept Big Bill Thompson back into the mayor's chair."

Mayor Dever, on the other hand, depended upon the "better element" for his support, and according to Will Rogers, "The trouble with Chicago is that there ain't much better element."

Big Bill's campaign was a marvel of political astuteness. One of his greatest drawing cards was his promise that he would repeal the city water-meter ordinance. As a result the working people looked upon him as their benefactor. As a matter of fact the cost under the old system is a fraction less only, and the rest will come out of the taxpayer's pocket anyhow. But Cow Boy Bill knew that he could count on his constituents not to think the matter through.

William Hale Thompson was a "wet-dry-Nordic-Negro-Protestant-pro-German-America first" candidate, sums up Mr. Davis. "Say what you like about the taste of that campaign, it was a theatrical master-

piece," and it resulted in 87 per cent. of the voters of Chicago turning out to vote, either for or against Mr. Thompson—an impressive figure for an American municipal election, no matter how history shall judge the outcome.

Concerning Chicago Mrs. Fairbanks says:

We are not very profound thinkers, I am afraid. We found our material desires largely on billboard ads, our opinions on a singularly local and exciting press, and slogans make an irresistible appeal to us. We laugh readily: we like ball games, and movies. "Shows" are more popular in Chicago than the legitimate drama. We are very prosperous—very corn-fed. We are easy-going, and slow to resent wrongs which are too abstract actually to touch us. We confuse performance and promises, and we are inclined to believe the important thing is get a thing done—what, or how, does not so much matter. . . . We are an independent lot, or we think we are. Young, gullible, intolerant, good-natured, optimistic and violent. We may become a great people some day when we grow up. We may. On that chance rests the hope of Chicago.

Making Talented Children Out of Untalented

THE school of psychological thinkers which calls itself Individual Psychologists, has as its head Dr. Alfred Adler of Vienna, famous for his solutions of behavior problems in "difficult" or "problem" children. In *Harper's* (New York) for June, Dr. Walter Wolfe translates an exposition by Dr. Adler of the chief tenets of his school.

The fundamental conception of this group is that talent, potentiality, endowment, special gifts, are merely elements in the structure of the individual, and depend for their development, good or bad, upon his environmental history. Further, it is their belief that talent is universal, being latent in every one.

"In the end it is always better to say," we read, "that one boy has talent because he was properly and encouragingly trained to overcome a defect, and that another boy is untalented because this or that error was made in his education."

A child has formed and shaped his behavior pattern (the way he will react to experience) at the end of his third year of life, Dr. Adler declares.

The influence of physical defects in the development of latent talents is of great importance. If an individual gets off to a bad start, by reason of congenital defects, hereditary anomalies, or bad nutrition, it

requires an extraordinarily beneficent environment to prevent him from developing a warped style of life. Yet, on the other hand, it is often one of the greatest advantages to an individual to be born with defective organs. When equipment is poor the individual has to develop a more ingenious and better technic to combat the rigors of its environment than does the normal individual:

No one has ever seen a normal child, and one can find some kind of organic defects in every one. What is important is the *sense* of defect which the child feels because he has an inadequate organ, and more particularly, what the child's environment says about his defect. And we know well that such individuals suffer much more in life than normal children. They feel a certain pressure which, under normal circumstances, would develop into an added attention, a greater training, a better technic for overcoming their difficulties.

Under unpropitious circumstances an organic defect is compensated in a useless way. It may be stated with certainty that wherever we see a child occupied with useless or criminal or neurotic behavior it is because he has felt himself "untalented" for the normal activity demanded by our world.

The elements which the Individual Psychologists have found most necessary to the development of a child into a useful social being are a good relation with the rest of humanity, and the feeling that he is equal to other children. . . .

If you tell a child offhand he is untalented, and he then proves untalented, this does not prove that you were right. You "fixed" him! And you must not wonder at your evil results.

The Dutch-Belgian Treaty

NOTHING since the ending of the World War seems to have stirred the Dutch people as much as the discussion aroused by the proposed treaty with Belgium, recently rejected by the Upper House of the Dutch Parliament. The treaty provided, among other things, for a canal through Dutch Limburg connecting the Belgium city of Antwerp with the Rhine, and for a second canal through western Holland connecting Antwerp with the ocean, thus providing outlet for Rhine traffic via Antwerp. In the opinion of a majority of the Dutch people this gave Antwerp an unfair advantage over the Dutch shipping center, Rotterdam, without providing adequate compensation. Although the treaty represents careful years of negotiation, and provides a solution for several vexing problems, it has incurred wholesale public disfavor because of these navigation provisions.

With the final rejection of the treaty, after its ratification by the Lower Chamber last fall, Foreign Minister van Karnebeek, its Dutch co-author, resigned. Jonkheer van Karnebeek had been Minister of Foreign Affairs since 1918, surviving four Cabinet crises; in the rejection of this treaty he sees what he calls the destruction of his "life work." As a matter of fact, relations between Belgium and Holland have been returned, by the rejection of the treaty, to the 1919 status of veiled hostility:

"All the good work done from both sides has been upset," writes a Dutch reviewer in the *English Review of Reviews*, "and instead of the two neighboring peoples lending each other a hand for the pursuit and development of their common interests, they once more must rack their brains to fill the gap created by the rejected understanding." And again: "It would seem dubious whether Belgian public opinion would allow the Brussels Government to reopen negotiations with Holland directly. It is said that the Belgian Government would rather appeal to the League of which susceptible Dutchmen strongly dislike."

Jonkheer van Karnebeek's answer to criticisms of the treaty lay in the Dutch-Belgian Treaty of 1839, article IX, which assures Belgium the coöperation of Holland in providing "safe, commodious and good" lines of navigation.

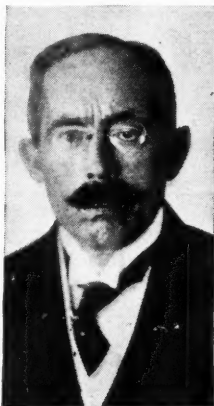
In *De Vaderlander* of April 22 appears an article in which various speakers vent their opinions on the occasion of a noted gathering under the auspices of "The National Union" at The Hague. Professor Gerritson was the leading orator, and he reviewed

the past with an eye on the future. The speaker emphasized that the Dutch people instinctively felt that the new Treaty was injurious to Holland's prestige. In answer to the threat of some Belgian newspapers concerning the annexation of Southern Limburg and Dutch Flanders, he unhesitatingly stated that no pretense of economic necessities ever will be admitted that aims at undermining Dutch sovereignty. That Belgium stretched out her hand in 1919 to claim sovereignty in Dutch waters is forgiven, but will not be forgotten. Before the way can be opened for the discussion of a new treaty it is

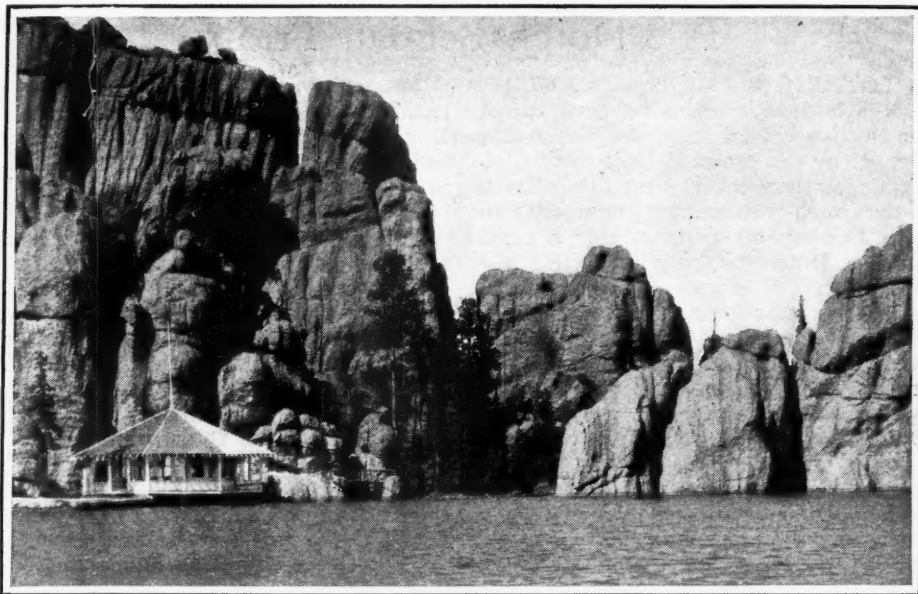
necessary that Antwerp statistically show that her normal development of Rhine traffic is impeded through the existence of the present system of waterways. No statement, containing any such statistics, has ever been submitted in furtherance of Belgium's claims for new canals or other connections with the Rhineland.

It is generally felt throughout Holland that the preliminaries to the reopening of negotiations will consume some time, and that, as Belgium seeks the revision of the Treaty of 1839, she should take the lead towards that end. Should renewed negotiations prove futile, the Dutch would place the matter before the Hague Tribunal of International Justice.

Belgium opinion divided into two groups; the greater number of the Flemish (who call themselves Great Netherlanders) are in favor of the Dutch, while the Walloons, the government party, would bring the controversy before the League of Nations.



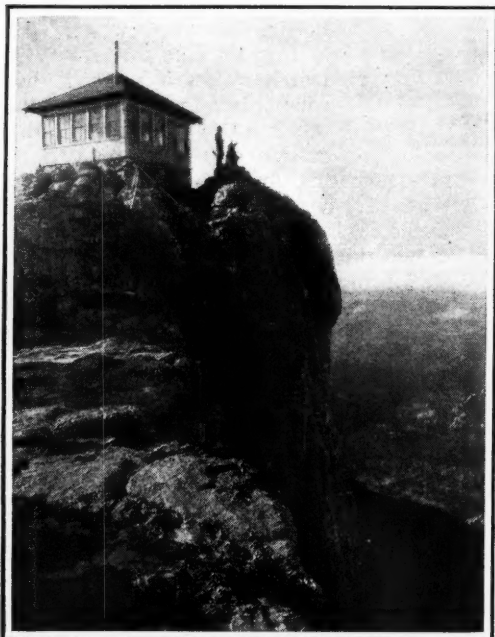
JONKHEER VAN
KARNEBEEK



Photographs, copyrighted Publishers Photo Service

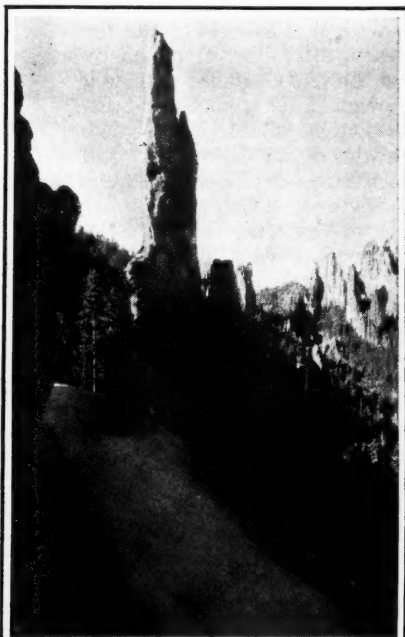
SYLVAN LAKE, 6,200 FEET ABOVE SEA LEVEL

(This beautiful lake is only a few miles from the President's lodge. A State tourists' hotel is maintained here, where doubtless many pilgrims to the summer White House will stay)



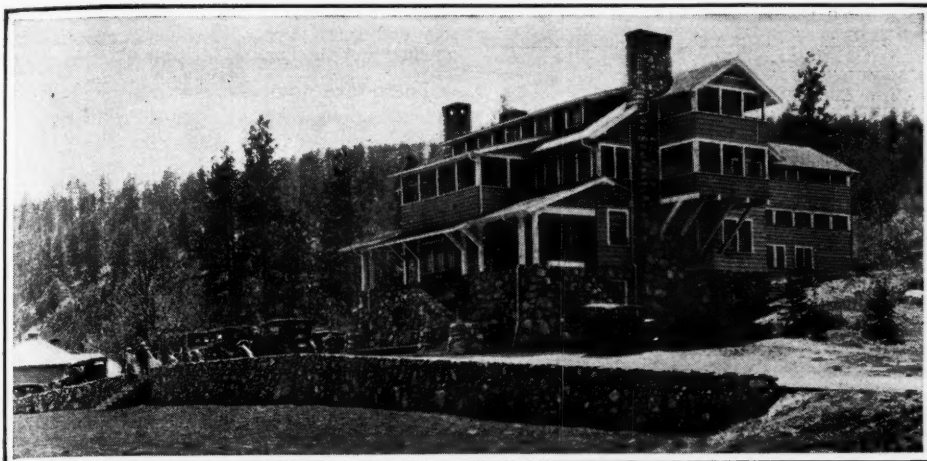
FIRE OBSERVER'S STATION, ON HARNEY PEAK

(This peak, said to be the highest point between the Rockies and the Swiss Alps, rises 7,240 feet. Its magnificent view includes Sylvan Lake, the President's lodge, the Bad Lands, Buffalo Bill's grave, and parts of four States)



THE SENTINEL, ON NEEDLES HIGHWAY

(One of the many granite pinnacles known as the Needles. Excellent roads such as this make every part of the 125,000-acre Park accessible to the visitor, except the highest peaks)



THE NEW "SUMMER WHITE HOUSE"—SOUTH DAKOTA'S STATE GAME LODGE IN THE BLACK HILLS

The Black Hills of South Dakota

THE White House has moved West this summer, for the first time in the history of Presidential vacations. Thousands of people to whom the name Black Hills has formerly conveyed nothing will learn during the next few months to picture the heart of this region as a great State Park of marvellous scenic splendor, where buffalo, elk, deer and mountain sheep stand fearlessly before the tourist, where beautiful roads wind to an altitude of six thousand feet between scarred pinnacles of rock and giant pines, where hotels and tourist camps are surrounded with every delight of mountain stream and lake, with tennis, golf, and horseback riding to be had for the wishing. In this miraculous region where mosquitoes and similar pests are unknown, an adjustable climate is provided, for the visitor may seek any heat from that of the blistering plains to mountain peaks where a campfire is welcome.

Historically the region is equally interesting. The Black Hills were sacred to the Sioux, who believed that their gods hunted there; in the foothills, just outside the Park limits (the Park is some 125,000 acres in extent) are famous gold mines, some still productive, scene of a great gold rush begun by the findings of one of Custer's men. "Buffalo Bill" and "Calamity Jane" were residents of Deadwood, only three miles away, and "Wild Bill" is buried there. Roosevelt lived on Little Missouri River

nearby, and the first monument to be erected to him stands above Deadwood. This is also the region of the Bad Lands, famous for their weird beauty as well as their fossil remains, still a rich mine for scientists after eighty years of delving.

In the *Outlook* (New York) for June 1, the Hon. Peter Norbeck, Senator from South Dakota, combines statistics with glowing description. He reminds us that the Black Hills lie far nearer the country's center of population than any Eastern resort. The range is the first to appear after the Mississippi is crossed, traveling west, and contains the highest peak between the Rockies and the Swiss Alps. The best transcontinental highway runs past them; through sleeping cars from Chicago serve the region, although it is free from excessive tourist traffic, being off the line of the great transcontinental roads and therefore not in the region they advertise.

This unique mountain area lies at the western boundary of South Dakota, and is approximately fifty by one hundred miles in extent. Harney, the center of the range, has an altitude of 7,240 feet. At the foot of these mountains, in 1743, the French explorer Verandrye was forced to turn back in his search for the Pacific, broken-hearted because he was sure that, from their highest point, he would see his goal, in fact 2,000 miles distant.

Not long ago the State of South Dakota

set aside a large portion of the region as a State Park and game preserve. Senator Norbeck writes:

A wilderness may be a thing of beauty. It must be preserved, but it must also be made accessible to the public. Expensive mountain highways had to be constructed, modern hotels and restaurants suitable for the most fastidious were provided, mail routes were established and telephone service secured. Tourist camps with modern facilities were provided. Cabins and tent-houses were made in large number. Golf grounds were laid out over hazardous courses to the delight of the persistent golfer. Trails were built into the higher mountain ranges and peaks for pedestrians and saddle-passengers. Some prefer the good saddle-horse, but

most of the tourists take to the unconventional but safe and gentle burro whose sure-footedness is absolute protection against accident.

There are two State-owned hostleries, one at 4,400 feet and another at nearly 6,000 feet. The more accessible of these has become the summer executive mansion, and visiting diplomats, Senators, and labor leaders will watch from its broad veranda elk, deer, Bighorn sheep and other game animals, fearless in their native habitat.

The excellent fishing near by was, no doubt, an important factor in the Presidential choice.

The Huntington Library and Art Gallery

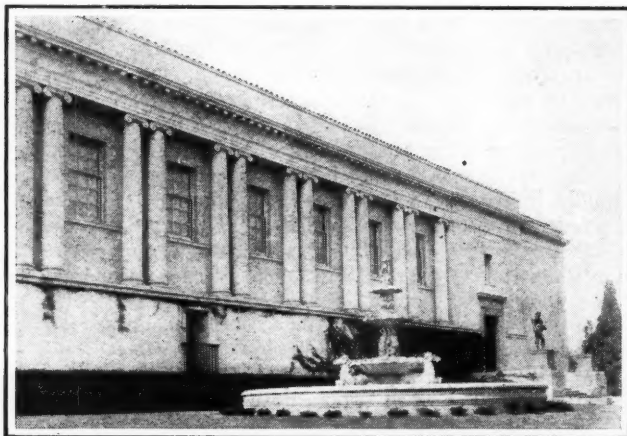
THE death on May 23 of Henry E. Huntington, millionaire book and art collector of Pasadena, California, turned public attention to his gift of beauty and usefulness to the people of the United States. In *Scribner's* (New York) for July, Dr. George Ellery Hale, one of the trustees of the fund established by Mr. Huntington for the administration of his library and art gallery as public institutions, describes the provisions made by Mr. Huntington and the trustees for the use of the library by scholars and research workers, and enumerates the contents of both the library and art gallery.

In a trust indenture dated August 30, 1919, Mr. Huntington expressed his desire "in his lifetime to promote and advance

learning, the arts and sciences, and to promote the public welfare by founding, endowing, and having maintained a library, art gallery, museum and park." He accordingly transferred to a board of five trustees the library building he had previously erected on his estate. He also transferred his residence near the library, with its remarkable collection of Gainsboroughs, Reynolds, Romneys, Lawrences, Raeburns, and Hoppners, with landscapes by Constable and Turner, certain unrivaled pieces of statuary, Beauvais tapestries after Boucher, illuminated manuscripts, missals, countless engravings and prints, English seals dating from the twelfth century, equaled only by the British Museum, and nineteen Italian primitives.

Furthermore, his estate of over 200 acres was transferred to be maintained as a Park, and a large tract of land was given to the foundation, to be sold for the purpose of increasing its endowment fund.

Provision was made that during the lifetime of Mr. and Mrs. Huntington they were to continue in possession and control. As recently as 1926, Mr. Huntington defined the institution as "A free public research library, art gallery, museum and botanical garden . . . which library shall be for reference and research only."

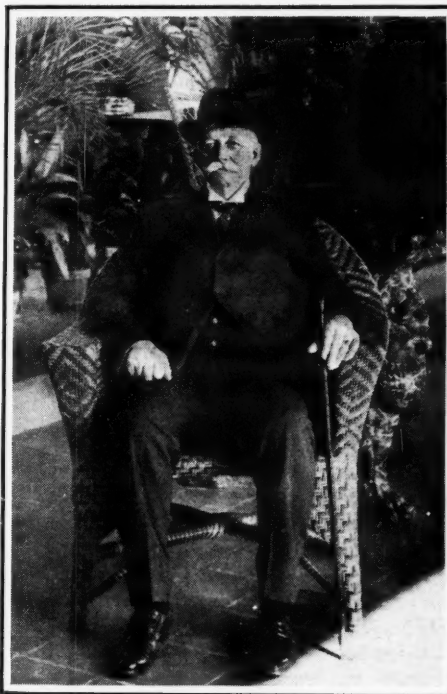


THE HUNTINGTON LIBRARY AT SAN MARINO, NEAR PASADENA, CALIFORNIA

The problem of rendering useful invaluable manuscripts and rare editions without jeopardizing their existence has given rise to a careful plan. The possibilities for research offered by the collection have been studied by Dr. Max Farrand, formerly of Yale University. Research workers in certain fields have been invited to use the library, and other students are allowed access as "fellows," to work with these preëminent scholars. The treasures include manuscripts and rare volumes on the "economic and social, intellectual and spiritual, governmental and political history of America and Great Britain (among other things, the manuscript of Franklin's autobiography), English manuscripts from the thirteenth century onward, including the *Ellsmere Chaucer*, *Shakespeare Quartos and Folios*, and fine *Caxtons*, pages from the notebooks of various famous authors—Shelley's is decorated with the telephone-pad type of drawing—and others too numerous to mention. It is a collection to bring tears of happiness to the eye of the scholar or collector, and the admirable conditions under which it will be opened to research workers, as outlined by Dr. Hale, will make it, with the Morgan library in New York, one of two great centers for the study of the manifold aspects of the growth of civilization in Great Britain and America.

Although most of Mr. Huntington's collection came directly and indirectly from England, as Dr. Hale says:

It can hardly be denied that Mr. Huntington has amply repaid his indebtedness to the rich resources



HENRY E. HUNTINGTON OF SAN MARINO, CAL.

of England. The masterpieces of the period of Reynolds and Gainsborough, previously seen only by the guests of titled families, will ultimately be accessible to public view. Manuscripts that have reposed in private coffers will soon serve for the production of new chapters on literature, art, and science. Moreover, those of us who regard with affection the land of our ancestors will hope that the Huntington collections, in the process of time, may aid in uniting the English-speaking peoples.

Business Adopts the Locarno Technique

WHILE statesmen are experimenting with arbitration as a substitute for war that is possibly more effective and certainly cheaper, business has already found arbitration an improvement on lawsuits. On January 1, 1926, the United States Arbitration law became effective, and since then National Trade organizations have made great savings in overhead costs by substituting arbitration for litigation. The law which made this possible is effective within limits of Federal jurisdiction, and holds for amounts of \$3,000 and more.

Judge Moses H. Grossman has an article

on commercial arbitration in the *National University Law Review* (Washington, D. C.) for May. Says Judge Grossman:

Commercial arbitration may be defined as the reference of a dispute through the consent of the parties thereto to one or more outside persons for adjudication.

Arbitration is to be distinguished from mediation wherein a neutral uses his good offices to bring the parties together.

Arbitration may be distinguished from conciliation wherein the parties, through the intervention of third persons, effect a compromise.

The essence of arbitration is not compromise, but the rendering of a just award in accordance with ethical trade practices.

For the history of his subject Judge Grossman goes back to the Vynior case of 1609, showing that in those days arbitration agreements were not, as now, final settlements. Either party had the right, if disgruntled with the proceedings, to take the dispute to court. From that time there has been a gradual strengthening of the law, although the first model statute, providing that "agreements to submit all disputes, whether existent at the time the

contract was made or arising in the future, are valid, irrevocable and enforceable," was not passed until 1920. This pioneer work was done by New York State, and since then similar laws have been adopted in New Jersey, Oregon, and Massachusetts. The net effect of such laws seems to be this: disputants save the lawyers' fees and other expenses of "having the law" on someone; yet the settlement is as final and presumably as just as if they had gone to court.

College and Factory

THE unique educational system of Antioch College is discussed by Mr. Robert W. Bruère in the *Graphic-Survey* for June. This institution at Yellow Springs, Ohio, attempts to adapt college education to the modern industrial system, by combining in alternating, equal parts jobs and studies. One student fills a position secured by the college for five out of every ten weeks, when his place is taken by another student, called his alternate or "coöp," and he himself goes back to recitations and proms for the next five weeks.

Far from being merely "a factory for the mass production of Babbitts," as such an institution glorifying "the job" might be, Mr. Bruère finds that the college is developing in the students "open-mindedness, experiment-mindedness, and a surprising eagerness to face reality, and to reason from experience." To disprove the statement that the students are trained only for "big business," Mr. Bruère shows that the occupation which claimed the largest number of the last graduating class was education. Photography, landscape gardening, social service, chemistry, are a few of the fields into which students eventually emerge.

This college, which has "boldly drawn the industries of our own day into its educational scheme," attempts to "supplement the discipline which the reasoning powers get through lessons in science with that training of attention and judgment that is acquired only by doing things with a real motive behind and a real outcome ahead." Impressions of individual students are given in the article, all tending to show a real preparation for living problems of

to-day, coupled with a broad-minded outlook. The students were prepared "for understanding the forces that are actually operative in the world of contemporary realities, for adjusting themselves to them, and possibly, if they could gain enough wisdom, for controlling them."

Mr. Bruère found a complete absence of passionate adherence to creeds or slogans, and an active interest in the thing they were actually doing. "They discussed education hour after hour with the zest and critical connoisseurship with which most collegians of my acquaintance discuss football or the midyear prom."

Athletics, however, plays an important part at Antioch, while the student is off the job and at his class work. It forms an essential factor in producing the well-rounded graduate. Nor are the significant contributions of social life overlooked.

Probably one of the greatest concrete services performed by the Antioch system for the student, is the help it gives him in finding his true interest and therefore his appropriate career. The boy who is "sure what he wants to do" is given a job in his chosen field; often enough he decides that he did not know what it was going to be like, and finds his metier in a totally different occupation.

Antioch is interested, of course, in giving its students a headstart along the roads of the vocations they are to follow after college, concludes Mr. Bruère; its special object, however, in sending these boys and girls into industry, is to give them character-forming disciplines. "Antioch is a challenge to industrial leaders to place their industries on a professional basis and to make their educational values accessible."



Photograph by American Red Cross

NEGRO REFUGEES AT GREENVILLE, MISS., LINED UP FOR VACCINATION

(119,000 refugees have been inoculated against typhoid, and 108,000 against smallpox. The Red Cross expects to extend this number to the half-million mark before the emergency is over)

Mississippi Refugee Pictures

MOST of the Mississippi flood refugees have been brought into the relief camps protesting, not wishing to leave their homes. They have had their feet wet every four or five years all their lives, and it is hard to convince them that a stranger in these parts can look at a contraption called a gauge and know that within a few hours there will be six feet of water in their kitchens.

When the dampness and springiness under foot near the levees signified that the breaks would soon come, warnings were sent by wire and wireless, automobiles and planes, Arthur Kellogg tells us, writing in the *Survey-Graphic* for June from the vantage point of the press boat which trailed Secretary Hoover's relief party through the flood area. Shortly after the water arrives a river steamer ties up to the levee, and sends out its fleet of motor boats to bring in the refugees from the surrounding country. The last stubborn ones to leave are spied out by Navy fliers.

Northerners forget perhaps that eight or nine out of ten of these refugees are Negroes, and that the race problem adds all sorts of complications to the work of the Red Cross.

Mr. Kellogg describes the scene at the refugee camp to which the river boat, when loaded with white people, and pushing a barge full of Negroes before it,

delivers its passengers before it goes back for more:

The refugees line up at the Red Cross tent to be registered and reassembled in families. They hand over to the guardsmen their hunting guns, to be tagged and stored (the guardsmen tell us with a chuckle that the farmers save their shotguns and daws and most of their kids!). They line up before the surgeons of the Public Health Service and the Army to be vaccinated and shot for typhoid. They go to another Red Cross tent for such clothes as they may lack. The women are set to peeling potatoes for the next meal. The men put up the sleeping tents and place the cots.

In no time at all the whole place is a going affair, an orderly little community of from a few hundred to nine thousand souls. There are substantial meals.

There are few accidents in a flood and the refugee camps have been remarkably free from sickness—there have been only twenty-five cases of typhoid in a camp population of 200,000. But every health provision is made in the camps, while the opportunity is seized to get in some excellent clinical and preventive work as well. There are, of course, separate camps for the Negroes and Whites.

Once they have helped to set up the camp, the men are set to work strengthening the levees or at odd jobs in the town, at two dollars and meals for a ten-hour day.

After the people are landed, come boatloads of animals, very loath to venture off the boat via the narrow gangplank, until some obedient one provides an example.

One of the most interesting features of the human side of the story was provided by the general impression that the Negroes had been so unwilling to leave their homes because they had been ordered not to by the planters, their bankers and landlords. The season last year had left most of the tenants in debt, and they had been carried during the winter and spring by the plantation store for food, supplies, and finally cotton seed, and the planters wanted to be sure that they would not escape without paying.

The policy of the Red Cross agrees, however, with the desires of the planters: the cotton growers are evacuated from camp to their own homes as soon as the water recedes:

Here is a human situation which the flood has thrown up. The hinterland of America. A peasant population. Plantations of thousands of acres, handed down in a family perhaps from Revolutionary times. They are worked by hundreds of laborers and share-croppers, who buy everything they use from the plantation store on credit against the next crop; who are often cheated, more often carried uncomplainingly over successive years of low

prices and boll weevil; who take the word of the plantation owner as law. Owing him, it is hard if not impossible for them to leave the place. They are in a condition very like peonage, scarcely out of slavery. Yet they are completely unsuited to the life of the northern cities to which some of them go, even unsuited to other forms of agriculture. Here, under direction, they are expert cotton-growers and pickers. Some have prospered.

The homes are usually standing. The Red Cross will see them back to these homes, will provide for the rudimentary needs, and may be able to give them cotton seed for the crop which can still be planted and harvested this year, but the slower work of rehabilitation must be carried on by the individual States, Mr. Hoover believes.

The silt left by the flood is unbelievably rich, and will probably give a bumper crop, but the seed must be "muddied in" at just the right time, and the waters must be watched closely so that the farmers may be sent back home in time. "Not the least interesting thing about a flood moving thirty-five miles a day over a course of six hundred miles is that before it reaches the Gulf the first refugees will be back in their homes."

Hoover on Fish

NOT wishing to dampen the ardor of the enthusiastic anglers, but yet to arouse a little sympathy in their hearts so that they will offer reparation for the damage they do, Herbert Hoover writes a delightful yet statistical article in the June *Atlantic* (Boston). As head of the Department of Commerce, Mr. Hoover is the only one who is "charged with such responsibility for our game fisheries as weighs upon the mind of the Federal Government." And it weighs to the tune of \$2,000,000 annually spent on hatcheries.

America's game fish are decreasing steadily and rapidly, and the present method of rehabilitation through hatcheries and distribution of fry is a failure, because of high infant mortality, says Mr. Hoover. Fishing being good for the soul of man, and—baseball fans and golfers to the contrary—our greatest rural sport, what is to be done to save it?

The modern fish lives in a glare of publicity. Everyone knows where he is to be caught; automobiles bring hundreds to every fishing hole; new lures and equipment

have made the survival of even the fittest fish well nigh impossible. "But I ask you if, in the face of all this overwhelming efficiency and progress, there is less time between bites?"

The Bureau of Fisheries estimates that ten million people went fishing last year; Mr. Hoover himself estimates, on the basis of personal experience, that they caught about four and a half fish apiece.

I submit that each fisherman ought to catch at least fifty fish during the season—a national catch of five hundred million game fish. . . . We have not attained any such ideal figure in long years. If it had been true the moral state of the nation would have been better maintained during the last calendar year.

Forty game fish hatcheries have been built by the Federal Government and 191 by State governments, and private enterprise has constructed sixty more. These 291 hatcheries, working on fifteen species of game fish, have turned out an annual average of one billion one hundred million infant fish. These have been distributed in streams and rivers, supposedly to replace

the depredations of fishermen, and in reality, says Mr. Hoover, to feed other finny denizens of the deep.

At a particular control station over Alaskan salmon it is estimated that 1,668,750 eggs and fry were launched into life and 3,740 adult fish came back. It is thought that all who escaped infant mortality did come back (that being the way of salmon) so that the loss was 99.77 per cent. Or, in other words, it took 450 fry to make a fish.

Fry kept in the hatcheries and reared to three or more inches of length have, however, a fifty-fifty (as opposed to a hundred to one) chance of surviving, experiments instigated by Mr. Hoover have shown. Nor is this nursery rearing so expensive: One hundred bass couples produced two hundred thousand offspring which were raised to three inches in length for a total outlay of five hundred dollars, omitting rent and experts—or four fish for a cent.

Two years ago Mr. Hoover appealed to fish and game clubs throughout the country to coöperate with the Federal Govern-

ment in establishing nurseries, which require only a few thousand dollars for plant and a few hundred annually for operation. The Government stands ready to furnish free technical supervision, breeding stock and fingerlings. Fifteen chapters of the Isaak Walton League, sixteen fishing clubs, and five private individuals have already established nurseries with a total capacity of twenty-million fish.

Without the supplementary nursery work, experts are agreed that the Government's \$2,000,000 annually is practically wasted. With supplementary nursery work the one billion one hundred million fry now produced in the Federal hatcheries would suffice to realize Mr. Hoover's ideal of fifty fish per fisherman per annum. Add to this the protection of unpolluted streams for fishing, and the remedy for a departing sport is at hand. "I appeal to the fishermen of America to take up this great hope of permanent game fishing in our country."

Our Future Way of Life

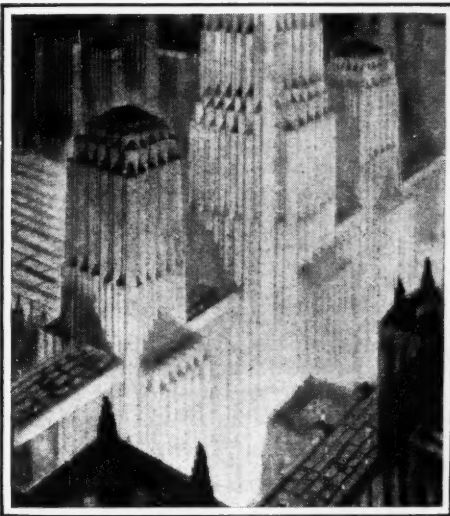
THE scientists of to-day want watching by men in the street, upon whom they are experimenting, declares Sir Philip Gibbs, prominent English journalist, in the *Cosmopolitan Magazine* (New York) for July. The philosopher, the statesman and politician are no longer responsible for the great social changes in the world. During the past hundred years science has changed our manner of life more radically than in thousands of previous years. What will life be like in the next fifty years? And how is man himself to be fitted for the responsibility of using the infinite power which the scientist is even now putting into his hands, and which may become as easily the means for his destruction as for social well-being and service?

"Transport and communication," says Professor J. B. S. Haldane, one of the most brilliant scientific minds in England, "are limited only by the velocity of light. We are working towards a condition when any two persons on earth may be completely present to each other in 1-24th of a second. We shall never reach it, but that is the limit we shall approach indefinitely."

Needless to say, as regards transport the chief advance prophesied by Sir Philip

Gibbs is in aviation, never more plausible to the public than during the past month.

Since the first heavier-than-air machine took wing in 1908, every year, every week almost, establishes a new record of long



Courtesy of Corona Mundi, International Art Center

ELEVATED TRANSPORTATION LINES IN THE FUTURE CITY

flight and fast flight. Yet, it is not the record, but the regular service and the multiplication of flights which are going to alter our ways of life:

In Queensland, where single individuals own cattle runs larger than England, squatters are beginning to use airplanes to inspect their herds . . . and not long ago an old man of seventy flew 1,200 miles in one day, whereas previously it had taken him six weeks to make the same journey. . . . Safety and certainty are being added to speed. The Queensland service has flown over 4,000,000 miles without so much as scratching the finger of a passenger, pilot or mechanic, and it has one pilot who taught himself to fly and another who has flown for ten years over rough country without a crash.

In London an airplane of the Moth variety, with folding wings that enable it to fit in the ordinary garage, can be bought on Bond Street for less than \$4,000. There are eight aerodromes in which one can learn to fly it. When airplanes cost one-sixth as much, and when the risk has been reduced a little, says Sir Philip, the motor car will become obsolete, because the airplane will run along the ground as well as above it.

Even more important, perhaps, are the new sources of energy which are being discovered by scientists who see the exhaustion, within relatively few centuries, of our present necessities—coal, oil, and food.

Synthetic foods are not beyond probability, but first will come intensification of production by chemical action on soil and plants, by protection of crops, by plant evolution and grafting: Professor Daniel of Rennes has already produced a plant which grows tomatoes above ground and potatoes below.

Scientists believe that they are already on the track of inexhaustible energy. The sun's energy stored in the atom will be released, as it already is in radium, a pound weight of which will do the work of 150 tons of dynamite, and remain unexhausted. Metallic windmills and rotors will utilize another inexhaustible source of energy.

Mental Communication Also Speeded Up

Increased rapidity of physical intercourse, increased freedom from the burden of physical toil, is being accompanied by an even greater development in the facilities of men-

tal communication. Much has been said, and often, about the contribution of the radio or wireless, and its effect on the human mind. The beam wireless and wireless telephony will make of the air one universal telephone exchange. Twenty-five years from now television sets will be so standardized as to be found in every home. We will watch and hear the scenes of contemporary history as they are being enacted all over the world; the newspapers, and perhaps reading itself, will become obsolete.

Can Man Be Trusted with All This?

All this raises the question in the mind of thinking people: Is man advancing morally and intellectually at the pace of the power which the scientists are putting into his hands?

"Human ideals," says Soddy, the great chemist, "have not progressed to keep pace with the growth of science. They are ideals which cannot exist with science without wrecking the world."

"Men sometimes speak as though the progress of science must necessarily be a boon to mankind," says Bertrand Russell, "but that I fear is one of the comfortable nineteenth century delusions which our more disillusioned age must discard. Science enables the holders of power to realize their purposes more fully than they otherwise could do. If their purposes are good, this is a gain: if they are evil, it is a loss. In the present age it seems that the purposes of the holders of power are in the main evil."

The scientists' answer to the scientific fact that man has evolved neither physically nor morally since the beginnings of history is to turn their attention to the minds and bodies of man, in order to reform him before their science allows him to bring about his own destruction.

Methods for hurrying up his evolution are numerous. Louis Berman will do it by regulating internal secretions; Doctor Voronoff with glands; eugenics is a science that is daily gaining popularity; Julian Huxley has brought about all sorts of changes in embryo rats. He believes he can produce what he calls ectogenic children, about to order.

"Is all this likely to bring new happiness into the world?" concludes Sir Philip, "or is it a new hell on earth that they are creating for us?"



THE NEW BOOKS

Highbrow Recreations

Mole Philosophy, and Other Essays. By Cassius J. Keyser. E. P. Dutton & Co. 246 pp.

"What a Mathematician Thinks About" might have been chosen as the title of this group of unrelated papers. It shows us at any rate that a Columbia Professor of Mathematics thinks about many things outside his circumscribed department, and to good purpose, rejecting the mole's philosophy that counsels the dismissal of ideals because they are unattainable and glorying in the dictum that "pursuit of the unattainable is the proper vocation of man." To college graduates we may safely commend Dr. Keyser's test of an educated man or woman: "Do you read books that you cannot understand easily? Books that require to be read slowly and deliberately? Books that you know are beyond your capacity to understand fully? If you do not, you are not educated; you have not the temper and habit of an educated mind; you are not a student."

Declining Liberty, and Other Papers. By John A. Ryan. Macmillan. 360 pp.

Those of our readers who are acquainted with Dr. Ryan's views on industrial and social ethics as made known in his books will understand and appreciate his approach to such present-day topics as National Prohibition, Liberals and Liberalism, American Catholics and American Citizenship, Christian Principles of War and Peace, The Church and Economic Life, Injunction in Labor Disputes, The Open Shop, Anthracite Profits and Anthracite Prices, Divorce Legislation, Fascism as Theory and in Practice, Equal Rights for Women. In controversy Dr. Ryan is eminently fair, particularly in the statement of his opponent's case. His discussion of the Eighteenth Amendment will be followed with interest even by those who cannot accept his conclusion that the "moral validity" of that amendment has been destroyed by events and developments since its adoption.

Where is Civilization Going? By Scott Nearing. The Vanguard Press. 118 pp.

"The cultural life of the human race has moved in a spiral, not a circle. History has repeated itself only in minor details." This is Scott Nearing's answer to those who question whether there is such a thing as social evolution. His little book summarizes in a brief and readable statement some of the things that have been learned about the social progress of the race thus far. It is not prediction; it is history. To say that the course of social evolution is as clearly indicated as the course of evolution in biology, physics, and chemistry, may be an extreme statement, but it has reason and commonsense back of it.

Southern Literary Studies. By C. Alphonso Smith. University of North Carolina Press. 192 pp.

One of the vivid and outstanding personalities in the field of American literary scholarship was C. Alphonso Smith (1864-1924), professor of English at the Universities of North Carolina and Virginia, and the Naval Academy at Annapolis. This latest addition to the long list of distinguished books from his pen is a collection of hitherto unpublished essays on American literature, most of it Southern in origin, but all of it, as Mr. Smith points out, national in scope by reason of its temperamental and spiritual qualities. According to Mr. Smith in what is one of the most charming essays in the book, the Americanism of American literature is composed of the American Indian, and a type of short story, humor and idealism recognized abroad as distinctively our own. Jefferson, Poe, O. Henry, Joel Chandler Harris, Matthew Fontaine Maury and others are among the Southern interpreters of American life and thought whose work is shown here in the light of Mr. Smith's brilliant and charming scholarship.

Variety. By Paul Valéry. Translated by Malcolm Cowley. Harcourt, Brace and Company. 283 pp.

In 1917, after a silence of twenty years, Paul Valéry, recognized in the '90s as a prominent member of the Symbolist group of poets, began once again to publish. Only recently the public to whom he was virtually unknown was startled when he was selected by French poets as the most distinguished of their number, and later when he was elected to the Academy in the place of Anatole France. Now he is frequently called the greatest, often the *only* great contemporary writer. Mr. Valéry writes, not as an end in itself, nor to achieve fame; his primary object is a defense of the conscious mind against the many enemies of modern times. These, according to the introduction to "Variety," his latest book, can be in part enumerated as all forms of determinism: Freudianism, super-realism, behaviorism, those who counsel surrender to instinct, those who believe that man is controlled by social and economic factors alone; he wars against Spengler's idea that, ours being a declining civilization, we have nothing left but to sail ships and make ourselves millionaires; above all, he wars against specialization, and shows us the universal man, such a one as Leonardo da Vinci, to whom the greatest of the essays in this volume is devoted. He attempts to analyze this great man's intellect which discovered "the central attitude from which all enterprises of learning or science and all the operations of art are equally possible." The first two essays, on the present intellectual crisis, were read before the League of Nations.

Description and Travel

Tawny Spain. By H. C. Chatfield-Taylor. Houghton Mifflin Company. 170 pp. Ill.

The title of this book may be credited to Shakespeare. It aptly describes what Mr. Chatfield-Taylor calls "the sun-browned hills and plains" of the peninsula. Few American travelers have recently made so many visits to Spain or brought back so wide a range of information about present conditions in that land. The text abounds in good description and the illustrations, from etchings by Ada C. Williamson, bring out the contrasts between ancient and modern Spain.

New Towns for Old. By John Nolen. Introduction by Albert Shaw. Boston: Marshall Jones Company. 207 pp. Ill.

John Nolen is admittedly one of America's leading landscape architects and town-planners, and his views and opinions in such matters are authoritative. In this little volume he has advanced valuable information in his chosen field not by abstract rules and precepts, but through the "Case System." Taking concrete examples of ideals realized, Mr. Nolen rapidly tells of well-arranged industrial towns, villages for factory workers, sea-coast towns of the old New England order, war emergency projects carried on to date, and residential suburbs. Other chapters are more general in treatment, and the whole is freely illustrated by maps, plans, and photographs. The author's points are well taken, his beliefs modern and progressive, while his sense of the fit and artistic is based throughout upon a profound grasp of his subject. An extensive bibliography forms an appendix to the work.

Covering Washington. By J. Frederick Essary. Houghton Mifflin Company. 292 pp. Ill.

Some visitors to our national capital would probably like to know more about the place than the "barker" of the sightseeing bus is able to impart. The real life of the city is still a mystery to many, notwithstanding the unnumbered columns of newspaper exploitation that are continually lavished upon it. Yet the men who are in the best position to know what goes on in Washington behind the

scenes, as it were, are the men whose job it is to "cover" the city for the newspapers. No one of the corps of writers now exercising that function has better equipment or saner judgment than the correspondent of the *Baltimore Sun*. In this book Mr. Essary takes the public into his confidence and gives a series of admirable pen-pictures from the panorama of official comings and goings as viewed from the press gallery.

The Lure of the Great Smokies. By Robert Lindsay Mason. Houghton Mifflin Company. 340 pp. Ill.

Along the boundary line between Tennessee and North Carolina lies the range of the Great Smoky Mountains, including Clingman Dome and several other peaks that rank among the highest east of the Mississippi River. Charles Egbert Craddock's stories, forty years ago, made the region popularly known, but long before her time the geologists Guyot and Leconte knew it well. Beyond a doubt it is one of the wildest and most beautiful portions of the eastern United States. Heretofore almost inaccessible, it will now be open to every flivver owner in the land; for the most picturesque part of it has been purchased and made a National Park and roads are projected to and through it. Mr. Mason has spent years in exploring its peaks and valleys and getting acquainted with its scattered human denizens. "Lure" is not too strong a word by which to characterize the picture as he paints it.

Mother India. By Katherine Mayo. Harcourt, Brace and Company. 454 pp. Ill.

Frank statements about social conditions in India are rare indeed. After reading Miss Mayo's book one can begin to understand why visitors to that country have hesitated to tell the truth, when it was revealed to them, particularly in regard to the treatment of women. Horrible and repulsive as are the facts concerning child marriages disclosed by Miss Mayo, we must admit that such evils can never be abolished until their enormity is known. It is a situation that calls for such a crusade as that of W. T. Stead in London many years ago. The reader is not left in any doubt as to the authenticity of Miss Mayo's charges.

History and Biography

The Pageant of America: Builders of the Republic. By Frederic Austin Ogg. New Haven: Yale University Press. 352 pp. Ill.

The eighth volume of this picture-history of the United States is devoted in the main to those political leaders who took part in the Revolution and in the development of the new Republic down to the period of the Civil War. As in the case of earlier volumes in the same series, the assembling of illustrative material is altogether original and unique. The portraits are all from contemporary sources and to these are added cartoons, drawings,

and scenes dated in the several periods under review. The exclusive use of these forms of illustrations adds to the work a stamp of truthfulness not otherwise obtainable.

The Pageant of America. American Spirit in Art. By Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., Charles Rufus Morey, William James Henderson. New Haven: Yale University Press. 354 pp. Ill.

The examples of various periods of American art reproduced in this volume in the "Pageant of America" series, cover so wide a range as to give

the reader a sense of having passed through a gallery of painting and sculpture planned for the express purpose of exhibiting the progress of our art from colonial times to the present. Mr. Henderson's chapter on "Musical Art in America," also well stocked with appropriate illustrations, gives in a remarkably concise form the essential facts in the story of American music.

The Pageant of Civilization: World Romance and Adventure as Told by Postage Stamps. By F. B. Warren. Century Company. 498 pp. Ill.

If you do not know that any collection of postage stamps fairly reeks with romance and adventure it must be because you have never succumbed to the enticements of what the serious call philately. In other words, you have never been a real stamp collector. Mr. Warren possesses the skill and the imagination that enable him to turn the collector's enthusiasms into educational channels. Every boy who has ever gathered stamps will be captivated by this book, and a moment's glance at its pages will afford not merely entertainment but information of a rare sort not easily gleaned elsewhere. Among its unique features the volume contains 1200 reproductions of actual stamps.

Eight o'Clock Chapel: a Study of New England College Life in the Eighties. By Cornelius Howard Patton and Walter Taylor Field. Houghton Mifflin Company. 361 pp. Ill.

This is a bigger book than one might be led to expect from its somewhat circumscribed title. Only about 10 per cent. of it is devoted to college religion, while all phases of student activities in the New England colleges forty years ago are attractively presented, and the two central chapters on "Representative Teachers and Administrators" occupy 132 pages and are rich in anecdotal material. All in all an entertaining book for the oldsters and not without profit for the college man or woman of to-day.

Twentieth Century Europe. By Preston William Slosson. Houghton Mifflin Company. 760 pp. Ill.

Considering the comparative youth of our century, we are sometimes amazed at the number of books that have been written about it. Not many authors, however, have attempted to confine themselves definitely to the years that have elapsed since 1900, and so to give a detailed survey of our own generation and its peculiar problems. That is what Dr. Slosson does in his one-volume general history of Europe for the period in question—roughly speaking, the first quarter of the century. Because of the Great War this is said to be "the most interesting quarter-century in human history," yet the war does not begin to monopolize the book. Economic, scientific, and cultural developments claim a large proportion of space. A vivid picture of our own times.

The Borderland in the Civil War. By Edward Conrad Smith. Macmillan. 412 pp.

Roughly, we say truly enough that the North and the South were contending forces in the Civil War, but there was a third factor, not to be described

by artificial bounds, that must be taken into account. West of the Alleghanies was a fairly well-populated section, perhaps more homogeneous than we of to-day are accustomed to think, occupying the Ohio Valley and a part of the Mississippi Valley to the westward. Dr. Smith includes in this "Borderland" the southern halves of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, all of Virginia west of the mountains, and nearly all of Kentucky and Missouri. To the people who lived in that section at the outbreak of the war—and they were nearly as many as the population of the seceding States—slavery was by no means the dominant issue. Their political and economic desires would decide the conflict. Lincoln knew that and shaped his policies accordingly. He was indeed himself the outstanding man of the Borderland.

The Fascist Dictatorship in Italy. By Gaetano Salvemini. Henry Holt and Company. Vol. I., 329 pp. Ill.

Probably the strongest statement yet made, from the Italian view-point, of the case against Mussolini. Signor Salvemini was a professor in the University of Florence. His indictment of Fascism is based on a historical survey of the forces that have been at work in Italy since the war, culminating in the Matteotti murder. In a second volume, to appear next fall, the author promises to describe the social, political, and economic life of Italy to-day.

The Services of Supply: a Memoir of the Great War. By General Johnson Hagood. Houghton Mifflin Company. 421 pp. Ill.

General Hagood, who was chief of staff for the Services of Supply of the A. E. F., is one of those military men who believe that the war was won, so far as America was concerned, not by the Army alone but by the whole people. His book gives a wonderful account of the business organization back of the lines—not so picturesque as other units, but contributing most effectively to military success. Our plight at the beginning is vividly sketched, then the organization of the greatest of military expeditions, the tremendous work in France and the successive changes in personnel. Civilians, as well as military men, had a part in all this.

The Living Constitution. By Howard Lee McBain. Workers' Education Bureau Press, 476 West 24th Street, New York City. 292 pp.

The Constitution of the United States, says Professor McBain, is not to be worshipped, but it is certainly to be respected. He offers some excellent comment on the growth of the Federal system and disentangles the realities of our fundamental law from certain misconceptions that have attached themselves to it in the past.

Thomas Paine, Prophet and Martyr of Democracy. By Mary Agnes Best. Harcourt, Brace and Company. 425 pp. Ill.

A novelist would be hard put to it to invent for a hero of romance a more adventurous career than fell to the lot of the Quaker freethinker Thomas Paine. Before he had been two years a resident of the American colonies he was numbered among those

leaders of public opinion who inspired the Declaration of Independence. The ablest pamphleteer of his time, Paine, by his "Common Sense" brought thousands to the support of Washington, Adams, and Jefferson in "the times that tried men's souls." Years ago Moncure D. Conway wrote the life of Paine from documentary materials found chiefly in the archives of England and France. It remained for Miss Best to do for Paine what had already been done for many of his contemporaries—namely, to portray him as a man among men, an intensely active and virile intellectual force in the days of the Republic's infancy.

Charles Lindbergh: His Life. By Dale Van Every and M. De H. Tracy. Appleton. 248 pp. Ill.

This is a book of 40,000 words, with twenty-four illustrations. The manuscript was received by the

publishers on June 6 and by June 9 completed copies were in circulation. Whether this can be called a record in book publication we are not prepared to say, but we do regard the work as creditable alike to authors and publishers. The book is in no sense an epic, nor were the authors aiming at such a result. Newspaper men are not given to hero worship, but when they find that the general public has nominated a hero they are the men who can gather the facts of the candidate's life with the greatest expedition, and put them in readable form with the greatest facility. It is hardly too much to say that the information about the young flyer could hardly have been obtained excepting through the efficient services of such an organization as the United Press, whose president, Mr. Karl A. Bickel, writes an introduction to the book. It seems that Lindbergh's boyhood was all that the admirers of the transatlantic flyer could wish it to have been.

Explanations of China

What and Why in China. By Paul Hutchinson. Chicago (440 South Dearborn Street): Willett, Clark, and Colby. 131 pp.

There are several larger and more pretentious books about China that do not tell the general reader as much of what he wishes to know about the country at this particular time as does this little volume. Mr. Hutchinson, now on the staff of the *Christian Century* (Chicago), was for five years a resident of China, and edited periodicals there. Many newspaper readers who have become confused by the statements in the dispatches will be glad to get hold of this clear, straightaway account of what has been going on in the Far East since the Chinese Revolution in 1911. The story is brought closely up to date, covering the great northward movement from Canton that began a year ago. It is not merely a "Who's Who" of Chinese leaders, but, what is far more important, it is an exposition, as the title puts it, of "what and why" has been happening there.

China in Turmoil: Studies in Personality. By Louis Magrath King. Houghton Mifflin Company. 233 pp. Ill.

A retired officer of the British Consular Service in China presents a series of characterizations of typical Chinese personalities. The book—as at least these outstanding merits: insight into character and a sympathetic attitude.

In China. By Abel Bonnard. Translated by Veronica Lucas. E. P. Dutton and Company. 371 pp.

The French original of this book received the Grand Literary Prize awarded by the French Academy. It is full of graphic pen-pictures of life in an old country now touched by the forces of modernism. Some of the most effective chapters are those describing the peasants and the French Catholic missionaries in the more remote parts of the country.

Books of Reference

An Outline of Careers. Edited by Edward L. Bernays. George H. Doran Company. 431 pp.

This is a helpful book for the young college graduate who has not yet decided on his life work. Thirty-eight eminent Americans have contributed each a chapter intended as a practical guide to achievement in some particular calling. All of these writers have made good in their respective careers and their words of enlightenment are worth heeding.

The Iris. By John C. Wister. Orange Judd Publishing Company. 122 pp.

The Gladiolus. By A. C. Beal. Orange Judd Publishing Company. 124 pp.

The reader of these two little books will probably make himself pretty objectionable, airing the

knowledge he will have acquired, but he is to be forgiven. These are the latest additions to a series edited by Frank A. Waugh, and they are full of practical advice for the amateur and, we should think, many tid-bits for the expert as well. The history and development of the many varieties, their culture, protection from pests and disease, and their use in the garden are dealt with. Others in this "Farm and Garden Series" are "Roses and Their Culture," "Spring Flowering Bulbs," "Dahlia Production," "The Strawberry," and "Bush Fruit Production," each the work of an authority in the field. As the publishers have many more titles up their sleeves, the venturer upon gardening who is too proud to ask his neighbor and the artist at gardening who strives for perfection only would do well to watch for the future productions of this series. Not chatty books, you understand, but very informing.

Creation: a History of Non-Evolutionary Theories. By Edwin Tenney Brewster. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 295 pp. Ill.

In writing this book the author put himself in the position of a person looking into both sides of the present controversy over evolution. One finds the general and special aspects of the theory of evolution well represented in the reference books, but the special creationists seem never to have had a history of their ideas prepared for popular use. Mr. Brewster now does this service for them.

Universal Knowledge. Edited by Edward A. Pace. Condé B. Pallen, Thomas J. Shahan, James J. Walsh, John I. Wynne, assisted by numerous collaborators. Universal Knowledge Foundation, Inc. 12 vols. Vol. I., 1700 pp. Ill.

The sub-title of this work defines it as "a dictionary and encyclopedia of arts and sciences, history and biography, law, literature, religions, nations, races, customs, and institutions." No very large segment of human knowledge seems to have been ignored in the planning of this work, which is designed to fill twelve volumes, the first of which contains the letter A. Anyone at all familiar with reference books will see at once that in order to bring a work on so comprehensive a scale within the designated limits, each article must be as brief as intelligent treatment of the subject will permit. Brevity indeed seems to have been the watch-word of the editors, so far as we may judge from the volume already issued. The merits of this quality in a popular encyclopedia need not be enlarged upon. Another feature of the work which we are sure will be appreciated by all who have occasion to verify statements of any kind is the practice of initialing all the important articles. The list of

contributors thus designated appears at the end of the volume. This adds an element of authenticity that cannot accompany unsigned articles. It is to be hoped that the first volume is a fair indication of what may be expected from the completed set. The marks of scholarship and careful editing are not to be mistaken.

The New International Year Book, 1926. Editor, Herbert Treadwell Wade. Dodd, Mead and Company. 805 pp. Ill.

Following a scheme of arrangement that has been approved by twenty-five years of experience, "The New International Year Book" presents its record for the year 1926. As in former issues, international relations occupy a large amount of space, but this in no way curtails the treatment of important domestic topics. One will find in this volume continued surveys and discussions of such matters as prohibition, labor difficulties in coal mining, taxation, and railway administration, together with the usual articles on literature, music, philosophy, and engineering developments. An account of the great Eucharistic Congress of the Roman Catholic Church at Chicago is included.

The Goal of Social Work. By Members of the Massachusetts Conference of Social Work. Swampscott, 1925. Edited by Richard C. Cabot. Houghton Mifflin Company. 244 pp.

Most conferences of social workers confine their deliberations to the means, rather than the ends. Two years ago the president of the Massachusetts Conference was Dr. Richard C. Cabot, the brilliant pioneer in medical social service. He turned the thoughts of the participants to the goal of their endeavor. The result was a series of stimulating addresses by leading American authorities.

SOME NOVELS, A POEM AND A PLAY

Quotations from the novel market for the past month show the heaviest buying in the following issues: John Erskine's "Galahad," Anne Parrish's "Tomorrow Morning," Tarkington's "Plutocrat," Dreiser's "An American Tragedy," Deeping's "Sorrell and Son," Erskine's "Private Life of Helen of Troy," Deeping's "Doomsday," Adams's "Reverdy," Wren's "Beau Geste," Lewis's "Elmer Gantry," Ferber's "Show Boat," and Zane Grey's "Under the Tonto Rim."

Even these, however, must doff their jackets to Will Durant's "Story of Philosophy," which, according to Frank Parker Stockbridge, also the authority for the above, has gained greater popularity than any book either of fiction or general literature in the last eight years.

Since we had already reviewed all of the present best-sellers, we undertook a little serious study of critic's dicta and decided that the following may be best-sellers of the future.

EDITH WHARTON'S "Twilight Sleep" (Appleton), in spite of the infelicity of the title, which is meant to indicate her subjects' desire to

avoid all unpleasantness and pain, is satire at its most biting, and a novel worthy of Mrs. Wharton's pen. "Her admirable craftsmanship has never been more evident," says Isabel Patterson. The satire is directed at fashionable New York society in the person of Mrs. Pauline Manford, too busy with her mental uplift, her efficiency, her organized charities to know that a tragedy is brewing in her own family. The novel ends ironically after the final cataclysm with everything efficiently hushed up. It is brilliant, timely, penetrating, perishable perhaps, but very readable.

"One of the best historical romances that have seen the light in years," says John Farrar, is Meade Minnegerode's "Cockades" (Putnam), a story of the lost Dauphin of France. "It has everything!" the critic exclaims. "It is made for the movies, it will make an excellent play, it will make a grandiose musical comedy . . . it fooled this reader of mystery stories until the last page. . . . It is a love story, an adventure, a fine combination of little realized history and glowing imagination."

"The Lovely Ship" (Knopf), by Storm Jameson,

is likely to add considerably to this author's reputation. "Against the nineteenth century, which we are just beginning to see as dramatic as well as Victorian, Storm Jameson lays the story of the life and loves of Mary Hansyke," head of a great ship-building business.

"As usual, Mr. Dreiser spares us nothing," writes Henry Longan Stuart of "Chains: Lesser Novels and Short Stories" (Boni and Liveright). We include the book among possible best sellers because the American public are famous creatures of habit, and where the "American Tragedy" has arrived, "Chains" may also. They are equally fine, and equally difficult to read, Heavens knows. "Reading the stories you are surprised to see how far your interest in the human race can go," writes another astute reviewer.

Even Hugh Walpole, who counts Cyril Hume among the four most interesting American novelists, has little to say for his recently published collection of short stories, "Street of the Malcontents" (Doran). They suffer from an excess of life, says he. Mr. Hume's romanticism—a dangerous quality in the present day—will not be kept down: he combines helter-skelter the paraphernalia of the nineties with the paraphernalia of the modern sophisticate—particularly the expatriated American in Europe, about whom most of these stories are written.

We frankly don't know whether John W. Thomason, Jr.'s, "Red Pants" (Scribner), will make the best seller lists or not. It, along with Leonard Nason's "Three Lights from a Match" (Doran), has been favorably reviewed by a score of leading writers more or less who all turn out, in the course of their reviews, to have been Marines themselves. Thomas Boyd writes: "Among the many books which have done homage to war, Captain Thomason's 'Fix Bayonets' and his present collection 'Red Pants' stand at the top of the list. His illustrations are memorable, and he has a feeling for form and color." James Boyd, author of "Marching On," reviewed here last month, ex-Marine, and no relation to the Boyd mentioned above, says of "Three Lights from a Match": "The stories are told with humor, with terror, and with a wealth of sound detail, from the standpoint of the enlisted man. His soldier dialogue is splendid, sometimes a shade too splendid. . . ."

Thyra Samter Winslow, in "People Around the Corner" (Knopf), actually pictures these everyday souls, "and along with them a glimpse or two of yourself," says a reviewer in *Books*. "She makes frustrated, petty, struggling folks articulate," writes another admirer.

Good News from Great Britain

"Very rarely does one have the good fortune to come across a book as interesting, as well balanced and as thoroughly worthwhile as Anthony Pryde's latest novel "Rowforest" (Dodd, Mead), writes the *Times Book Review*. Ethel Mannin, the author of that harsh but excellent book, "Sounding Brass," has written in "Pilgrims" (Doran), a novel far better. W. B. Maxwell's "Bevan Yorke" (Doubleday), has been a London best seller for months. Patrick Hamilton's "Craven House" (Houghton), portrays a boarding house with an art that is repeatedly compared with that of Dickens. "We have gone gaily through these pages, and the farther we go the more gaily we go," says the *Manchester Guardian*, which is the sort of review

we want of the great novel we are going to write some day. "That Island" (Dodd, Mead) relates with Archibald Marshall's inevitable charm the amusing experiences of a family wrecked in the South Seas.

Milling Coves, Revolution, Fragrant Dew, and Others

Wise are the wives who will buy "Bold Bendigo" (Lippincott), by Paul Herring, for their husbands. The hero is Bendy, Prince of the "milling coves," who fought regularly twenty to sixty rounds with bare fists in the sporting England of the 1830's; "Half of him was whalebone, half of him was steel." Charles Walker's first novel "Bread and Fire" (Houghton), is an exciting, disturbing, dead in earnest book about industrial revolution in the copper mills of Bowington, Conn. "The Aristocrat" by Martin Mills (Bobbs-Merrill), "in which a female social climber is skinned alive with neatness and great good humour" is an entertaining satire, rather forcefully written. "Lud-in-the-Mist" (Knopf), by Hope Mirrlees is a book "that every poet and every idealist and every world-sick dreamer should read," says the *Bookman*. Says the *New Republic*: "fresh as dawn and fragrant as dew on flowers." We don't know about this last, but it is a charming book.

The Greatest Poem Written in America

The reviewer would deserve to lose his license were he not to call attention to Edwin Arlington Robinson's magnificent poem "Tristram" (Macmillan). Mr. Robinson's greatness as an interpreter of America was assured, but with this version of one of the oldest and most beautiful of our legends, he has created for all time and all countries.

"The 'Tristram' of Edwin Arlington Robinson may be placed first among all modern versions of the ancient tale . . . the poem is proof that the American imagination is as capable of sustained flight, of architectonic soundness and symmetry and beauty as the imagination of any other land or race." This version subtly modernizes older versions, satisfying our "demand for a rationalized tragedy and passion intellectually heightened," writes Percy Hutchinson. "All of this is caught in a web of extraordinarily beautiful and sensitive poetry that is unequalled in our generation," says Herbert Gorman.

Marco Polo Up-To-Date

Eugene O'Neill's latest play "Marco Millions" (Boni and Liveright) presents "with savage humor" Marco Polo, the great legendary Venetian traveler, "in terms of the synthetic American business man with whom we have all become familiar during the last ten years of idol smashing," writes the *New York Times*. "Like the cheap American promoter in a foreign land, Marco is shrewd, enterprising, good humored, arrogant, a braggart obsessed with the spurious glories of material advancement." The *New York* public looks forward happily to the presentation of this play by the Theater Guild next fall. The Guild has our profound admiration, ditto sympathy, for in addition to a cast large enough for a pageant, there are thirteen scenes, each the essence of Eastern splendor.

A bit of the *Times*—a touch of *Post*,
Some *Book Notes* and *Bookman* added,
Some *Sat. Review*—and the *Tribune* too,
And our fiction page is ended.